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Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror

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United States Ambassador
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MAHOMETANISM UNVEILED.

VOL. II.

THERE ARE TWO OBJECTS OF CURIOSITY, — THE CHRISTIAN
WORLD, AND THE MAHOMETAN WORLD : ALL THE REST
MAY BE CONSIDERED AS BARBAROUS.

DOCTOR SAMUEL JOHNSON.

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MAHOMETANISM UNVEILED:

AN INQUIRY,
IN WHICH
THAT ARCH-HERESY,
ITS DIFFUSION AND CONTINUANCE,
ARE EXAMINED ON A NEW PRINCIPLE,
TENDING TO CONFIRM THE EVIDENCES,
AND AID THE PROPAGATION,
OF
THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

BY
THE REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B.D.
CHANCELLOR OF ARDFERT, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN
TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LIMERICK.

Mahometanism began as a Christian heresy.

JOSEPH MEDE.

The extraordinary success, which has attended the imposture of Mahomet, has exercised the ingenuity of Christian writers; and yet does not appear to have been satisfactorily explained.

PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN HISTORY.

Ex Hagare Ismaëlem suscepit Abrahamus; rem omnem, ad arcanos fines, ita dirigente Numine.

BUDDEUS.

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MAHOMETANISM UNVEILED.

SECTION VIII.

ANALOGY OF THE KORAN WITH THE BIBLE.

THE spurious likeness which Mahometanism so scrupulously maintains with Judaism and Christianity, through all the features in which they have been hitherto compared together, may prepare us for the existence of a corresponding resemblance between the three religious systems, in the character and structure of their respective sacred books.

This particular analogy, like those which have preceded it, will, on more near investigation, be found to obtain just in the extent which we are authorized to expect, from the quality of the natural relationship between Isaac and Ishmael : the Bible being just so far successfully imitated by the Koran, as still sufficiently to keep alive the affinity, between the legitimate, and the spurious revelation.

Respecting this part of our subject, it is almost needless to repeat, that the whole of the resemblances to be considered are, from first to last, little else than studied and servile imitations: in which we are reminded of the divine original, only the more sensibly to perceive and feel, the gross disfigurements of its beauties, and the monstrous perversions of its truths, exhibited by the Koran.

At the same time it is unquestionable, that, in its general design and composition, as well as in its pretensions to inspiration, the latter volume presents a correspondence most circumstantial and extraordinary, with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures: a correspondence, at once, embracing several of the most prominent features of both Testaments, and descending to the minutest peculiarities of their order and distribution.

The groundwork of the proposed comparison has been laid by Mahomet himself: since it was in open and avowed imitation of Moses, and of the tables of the law, that the Arabian impostor pretended to have received, in the chapters of the Koran, a written revelation, sent down to him immediately from heaven. This pseudo-bible, he further constantly affirmed to have been modelled, by the Spirit of God, after the books of the Law and of the Gospel; and to have been

revealed, in order to complete the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. And so far did his scheme of plagiarism carry him forward, in perfecting this branch of the analogy, that, as we have elsewhere remarked *, he even went the studied length of shutting up the chapters of the Koran in a coffer, which he styled the chest of his apostleship; professing to do so after the example of Moses, who, by divine commandment, had enclosed, in the ark of the Lord, the tables of his law.

The identity of character with the Jewish lawgiver, thus, from the outset, affected by Mahomet, in the putting forth of his pretended revelation, is followed up by a close and literal coincidence in the several *titles*, *divisions*, and *subdivisions*, technically applied, by the Jews, on the one hand, to the volume of the Old Testament, and by Mahomet and his followers, on the other hand, to the Koran.

These external features of agreement are specimens of Mahometan plagiarism, too palpable to have been let pass without animadversion, by preceding writers. Notice, accordingly, has been taken of them, in the dissertation of Mill †; and this part of the analogy between the Koran and

* Vol. I. p. 285.

† De Mohammed. ante Mohamm. p. 361.

the Old Testament, has been very fully set forth by the learned English translator, in his Preliminary Discourse. We will submit the particulars in the words of Mr. Sale ; beginning with the title *Koran*.

“ The word *Korân*, derived from the verb *karaa*, to read, signifies, properly, in Arabic, the reading, or rather, that which ought to be read ; by which name the Mohammedans denote, not only the entire book or volume of the *Korân*, but, also, any particular chapter or section of it : just as the Jews call either the whole Scripture, or any part of it, by the name of *Karáh*, or *Mikra* ; words of the same origin and import.

“ Besides this peculiar name, the *Korân* is also honoured with several appellations, common to other books of Scripture ; as, *Al Forkân*, from the verb *faraka*, to divide or distinguish : in the same notion that the Jews use the word *Perek*, or *Pirka*, from the same root, to denote a section or portion of Scripture.

“ It is also called *Al Mosháf*, the Volume, and *Al Kitáb*, the Book, by way of eminence ; which answers to the *Biblia* of the Greeks : and *Al Dhikr*, the admonition ; which name is also given to the Pentateuch and Gospel.

“ The *Korân* is divided into 114 larger por-

tions, of very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians *Sowar*, in the singular *Súra* ; a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying a row, order, or regular series ; as a course of bricks, in building, or a rank of soldiers, in an army ; and is the same, in use and import, with the *Súra*, or *Tora*, of the Jews ; who also call the fifty-three sections of the Pentateuch, *Sedârim*, a word of the same signification. These chapters are not, in the manuscript copies, distinguished by their numerical order ; but, usually, from the first word of note : exactly in the same manner as the Jews have named their *Sedârim*.

“ Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal length also ; which we customarily call *verses* ; but the Arabic word is *Ayât*, the same with the Hebrew *Ototh*, and signifies signs or wonders ; such as are the secrets of God, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in these verses.

“ The Mohammedans have in this, also, imitated the Jews, that they have superstitiously numbered the very *words*, and *letters*, of their law ; nay, they have taken the pains to compute the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Korân.

“ Beside these unequal divisions of chapter

and verse, the Mohammedans have also divided their Korân *into sixty equal portions*, which they call *Ahzhâb*, in the singular *Hizb*; each subdivided into four equal parts: which is also an imitation of the Jews; who have an ancient division of their Mishna, *into sixty portions*, called *Massictoth*.

“Next after *the title*, at the head of every chapter, except only the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the Mohammedans called the *Bismillah*, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD; which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark, and distinguishing characteristic of their religion; it being counted a sort of impiety to omit it. The Jews, for the same purpose, make use of the form, IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, or IN THE NAME OF THE GREAT GOD. And the eastern Christians, that of, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST.”*

From the foregoing extracts it appears, that, in its several titles, divisions, and subdivisions, the volume of the Koran is constructed and distributed with the minutest attention to the titles, divisions, and subdivisions, which had been ap-

* Prelim. Disc. Sect. iii. pp. 74—78.

propriated, by the Jewish church, to the sacred volume of the Old Testament.

The analogy which Mahometanism thus maintains with Judaism, through the medium of their respective sacred books, may be illustrated, in the next place, by a remarkable historical coincidence; namely, the parallel questions raised by the Moslem doctors, and by the Jewish rabbins, respecting the creation, or the non-creation, of the Koran and of the Pentateuch.

Whether the Koran was created, in time, or had, from all eternity, existed in the essence of God, formed the subject of a celebrated Mahometan controversy; which, under the Abasside dynasty, gave birth to fierce debates, and cruel persecutions, throughout the eastern empire of the Saracens. The more violent of the controversialists denied, altogether, the doctrine of its creation in time: the more moderate conceded that the Koran was created; but maintained that its creation took place at a prior date, and in a different and more excellent manner, than that of the heavens, and of the earth, and of all things contained therein. Thus Jahia, in his commentary, affirms, that, "two thousand years ere he created the heavens and the earth, God wrote the Koran, and deposited it under his throne." Now the very same claim is advanced

by the tradition of the rabbins, with regard to the books of Moses ; to which, rabbinical authority assigns a similar priority of date, and dignity of creation, before all the other works of God. Like the Mahometan, again, the Jewish doctors assert, that the Law, as promulgated in the time of Moses, had been created many ages previously to the creation of the world : and, according to the Gemara, it is styled “ a good gift, laid up in the treasury of God ; which was created by Him, nine hundred and seventy-four ages before the creation of the world.”*

Another tenet of Mahometans, relative to their Koran, may be noticed in connection with the notion of its pre-existence : I mean the doctrine that the Koran was not revealed to Mahomet, originally as a whole ; but that it was sent down from heaven in parts, and communicated to him piece-meal, as the occasion demanded.† This device of the Arabian impostor plainly appears to have been suggested by the rabbinical doctrine touching the Pentateuch : for the Gemara not only affirms, that the books of Moses were originally delivered to him in parts or sections, but defines, also, the several portions,

* Mill, pp. 363—365.

† “ We have dictated it gradually ; and by distinct parcels.” *Koran*, chap. xxv.

and assigns the specific occasions of their delivery.*

The outward reverence manifested by the Jews for their Scriptures, is strongly marked, in their traditional law, by the solemn prohibitions, either to touch the volume of the Law with unwashen hands, or to handle it even with purified hands, without the intervention of a case or cover; the neglect of which precautions, the rabbins solemnly denounce as a heinous sacrilege, and imprecate curses on the heads of the offenders: now the very same prohibitions are enacted by Mahometan tradition; which, in like manner, proscribes the handling of the Koran with naked or unwashen hands; and enjoins that the copies of it shall be kept carefully covered with skins bearing this inscription, "Let none touch it except the pure."†

While, in its whole external history, it bears an affinity, thus circumstantial and peculiar, to the sacred volume of the Jews, the volume of the Mahometan pseudo-scriptures does not want for sufficient spurious marks of internal relation, also, both to the Old and New Testaments.

* Mill, pp. 365, 366.

† "This is the excellent Koran: none shall touch the same, except those who are clean." Koran, ch. lvi. ad fin. The sentiment appears to have been taken from the Greek philosophy. It was a maxim of Socrates, touching the reverence due to God, *μη καθαρῷ καθάρου ἐφαπτεσθαι, μη οὐ θεμιτον*. Compare Mill, ut supr. pp. 366, 367.

The Koran, it will be recollected, was delivered by Mahomet, professedly as the completion of the former Scriptures of the Law and Gospel; as a further revelation, that is to say, perfective of both; and advancing, in its turn, on the revelation of the Gospel, as this had previously advanced on that of the Mosaic law. On this footing, accordingly, the book of the Koran was actually received, among the earliest converts of the Arabian antichrist*; a fact which, besides other evidences, may be clearly deduced from the declaration made by one of the primitive Mussulmans, in announcing the pretended mission of Mahomet, to the Christian King of Ethiopia: "He has with him," said Giafar, "a glorious book, *resembling the book of Jesus, the son of Mary*; with which it maintains, throughout, a *perfect consent and agreement*."†

So far, therefore, as the *professed* character and object of the Koran are in question, Mahometanism appears consistently to maintain its providential relation to Judaism and Christianity as the spurious copy of both revelations.

Nor, notwithstanding its gross fabrications, and its egregious absurdities, will *the contents* of

* "Ipsi Mohammedani Alcoranum Evangelio similem prædicant." Mill, p. 341.

† Ib. p. 342.

the Koran, on a nearer inspection, be found, in the main, at variance with the kind of resemblance which it has been thus far shown to preserve, with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

Not to anticipate the more circumstantial coincidences, we will, for the present, only observe, that, in its general outline of facts, the Koran corresponds with the Old Testament, in the following historical details: the accounts, of the creation of the world; of the fall of Adam; of the general deluge; of the deliverance of Noah and his family in the ark; the call of Abraham; the stories of Isaac and Ishmael; of Jacob and the Patriarchs; the selection of the Jews, as God's chosen people; the prophetic office, miracles, and administration of Moses; the giving of the Mosaic law; the inspiration and authority of the Hebrew prophets, psalmists, and hagiographers, especially of David and Solomon; the account, lastly, of the promise delivered, through the Jewish prophets, of the advent of the Messiah; with several of the accompanying predictions respecting the manner of his birth, the nature of his office, the signs of his ministry, and the final object of his mission.

Again, with the New Testament, the Koran concurs, in the recognition of Jesus Christ, as

the promised Messiah of the Jews ; in his miraculous conception by the breath, or spirit, of God ; his immaculate nativity, of the Virgin Mary ; his title of the Logos or Word of God ; in the miraculous birth of John, the son of Zacharias, to be his appointed forerunner ; in his performance of many mighty signs and miracles, such as the healing of the sick, the raising of the dead, and the controuling or casting out of devils, in attestation of his heavenly mission ; in his rejection and persecution by his own countrymen ; his condemnation to the death of the cross* ; his bodily ascension into heaven ; and the abiding consummation of his prophetic functions, in the eternal world, in his characters of Mediator and Intercessor, between God and man ; and of Judge of all men at the last day.

When, however, we come to a nearer examination of the text of the Koran, its numerous coincidences with the facts and doctrines of the Bible, appear strangely interspersed with matter the most incongruous ; with extravagant fables, monstrous perversions of truth, and ridiculous and endless puerilities. Now, instead of detracting from the argumentative force of the actual

* After the example of the ancient heretics, the Cerinthians, Basilidians, and Carpocratians, Mahomet denied the reality of our Lord's crucifixion. See Koran, chap. iii, iv. with Mr. Sale's notes, vol. i. pp. 64. and 124.

analogy between the Koran and the Bible, this spurious admixture but serves to illustrate and confirm our whole previous reasonings : since, while both the matters of fact, and the matters of faith, which the Koran appears to hold in common with Judaism and Christianity, may be clearly traced to the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures ; its fictions and absurdities can be not less clearly deduced, on the one hand, from the traditions of the talmudic and rabbinical writers ; and, on the other hand, from the apocryphal gospels, or from the books of Adam, of Seth, of Enoch, of Noah, and other similar fabrications, well known in church history as having been extensively in use among the heretics of the first centuries.*

And thus, when its anomalous contents come to be reduced into some order, and to be referred to the several sources whence they were evidently drawn, the pseudo-bible of Mahometanism exhibits just the kind of text and character of construction, which properly belongs to it, regarded as an antichristian parody of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

We will now proceed to exemplify these general remarks, by a short analysis of the contents of the Koran, in which it will be our chief object to illustrate the nature and amount of

* Sale, Prelim. Disc. p. 83. See also p. 98.

its spurious parallel with the Law and Gospel. With this view, we shall begin with passages of the Koran which directly class the Mahometan Bible, so called, with the Old and New Testaments :

“ We have surely sent down THE LAW, containing direction and light : thereby did THE PROPHETS, who professed the true religion, judge those who judaized.

“ We also caused Jesus, the son of Mary, to follow the footsteps of the Prophets ; confirming the Law, which was sent down before him : and we gave him THE GOSPEL, containing direction and light ; confirming, also, the Law, which was given before it.

“ We have also sent down unto thee [Mahomet] THE BOOK OF THE KORAN, with truth ; confirming THAT SCRIPTURE which was revealed before it, and preserving the same safe from corruption.”*

In these passages, the Koran formally challenges its places beside the sacred volumes of the Law and the Gospel, as sent to perfect both† ; and as forming, together with them, the sum of God’s written revelation.

* Sale’s Koran, vol. i. pp. 139, 140.

† So also in the third chapter : “ God hath sent down unto thee the book of the Koran with truth, confirming that which was revealed before it ; for he had formerly sent down the Law, and the Gospel, a direction unto men.” Koran, chap. iii. ad init. Cf. ch. xii. ad fin. and ch. xlv. vol. ii. p. 372. also, ch. lii. ad fin.

In another part, it arrogates to itself the same high distinction, if possible in more set terms ; uniting itself with the Old and New Testaments, under the authoritative titles of “ THE LAW, and THE GOSPEL, and THE OTHER SCRIPTURES ;” and representing these three volumes as together constituting the one true manual of the faithful, and the sum of all extant written revelation.

In a third place, we find the following words, declaratory of the common origin and object of the Mosaic and Mahometan written laws : “ We formerly gave unto Moses and Aaron THE LAW, being a distinction between good and evil, and a light and admonition unto the pious ; and THIS Book [the Koran], also, is a blessed admonition, which we have sent down from heaven.”

Again : “ We have given thee THE KORAN, as we gave THE PSALMS to David.”*

In contemplating this important branch of the general analogy, we are, therefore, to consider, that the comparison between the Bible and the Koran was first instituted by Mahomet himself ; and that, by publishing it as the completion of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, he has stamped this pretended revelation, through all its scriptural plagiarisms and imitations, as the book of antichrist.

* Sale's Koran, vol. i. p. 125.

It is equally deserving of consideration, that the followers of Mahomet have ever zealously maintained the pretensions of the Koran, to this designed and immediate connection with the Old and New Testaments: that they not only admit, but argue from, the existence of a parallel between the three volumes; strongly insisting on the conformity of the Koran with the Bible, as one of the chief proofs of its inspiration.

The spurious resemblance of the Koran to the sacred volume has often engaged the notice of Christian writers. But fully to establish the antichristian character of this resemblance, it is essential, that it should have been thus contrived by Mahomet, and maintained by his followers, with the set purpose of identifying the Koran with the Scriptures of both Testaments.

The case does not demand, nor will our limits admit, such an analysis of the text of the Koran, as might enable us fully to trace its manifold and multiform plagiarisms, to their original sources in the Law and Gospel. Our object, therefore, must be, rather, by select examples, to indicate the nature of the correspondence, than to specify its amount.

But, before we adduce specimens of this parallel, in its details, it would seem expedient briefly to consider, in a general way, the extent

to which the Scriptures of both Testaments are, in fact, copied after in the Koran ; and, also, the method, and apparent design, observable in its plagiarisms and imitations.

The question, how far, when he compiled his pretended Scriptures, Mahomet was acquainted or unacquainted with the volume of holy writ, has been frequently agitated, in discussions on the Mahometan controversy ; and, as it would seem, to very little purpose. On this, as well as on many other particulars, in the history of Mahometanism, the Christian world might have been spared much profitless speculation, if, instead of loosely theorizing on the probable, or possible, amount of Mahomet's knowledge of the Bible, former inquirers had examined attentively, and accurately ascertained, the extent in which he *has* actually employed the materials of the Old and New Testaments, in the construction of his Koran.

On collating the text of the Koran with that of the Bible, with this view, from the general character of the correspondence there will be found to arise new proof and illustration of the just title of Mahometanism to the place assigned to it in these pages, as, at once, the offspring of the covenant with Ishmael, and the spurious counterpart of the religion of Isaac. From what

has been advanced by the generality of writers, respecting the construction of the Koran, we are led to suppose that Mahomet, in the execution of his task, proceeded wholly without order or design ; and that, in all his imitations and plagiarisms, he copied at random from the Old and New Testaments. This, however, is very far from being the case. On the contrary, the facts are altogether irreconcilable with such a supposition. It may be stated, as the result of an impartial scrutiny of its text, that, amidst all that apparent disorder and incoherence of which the Koran stands most justly accused, its author certainly went with great regularity after a system of his own, in his use, or abuse, of the sacred Volume ; and that he has carried on his plagiarisms, within very defined limits. Indeed, that this is so, must be clear to every one who will be at the trouble to observe, how, together with its numerous petty thefts from both Testaments, the pseudo-bible of Mahometanism contains a set series of scriptural relations, on which it specially builds its teaching ; and to which it constantly recurs, for the proof and confirmation of its doctrines.

These favourite authorities of the Koran are, the stories of Adam *, of Noah, of Abraham, of

* For Mahomet's account of the fall of our first parents, see Koran, chap. ii. vii, xx.

Lot, of Jacob, Joseph, and the Patriarchs, of Moses and Aaron, and of David and Solomon, out of the Old Testament ; and the accounts of Zacharias, of John the Baptist, of the Virgin Mary, and of Jesus Christ, from the New. Thus the story of Noah, first recited in the seventh, is repeated in the eleventh, the twenty-second, the twenty-sixth, the twenty-ninth, the fifty-fourth, and the seventy-first, chapters : that of Abraham, in the second, third, fourth, sixth, eleventh, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-ninth, thirty-seventh, fifty-first, and sixtieth : that of Lot, in the seventh, eleventh, fifteenth, and twenty-seventh : the history of Jacob and the twelve patriarchs, elsewhere repeatedly alluded to, is given at large in the twelfth chapter, entitled “ Joseph : ” the life and actions of Moses are recounted through the second, sixth, seventh, tenth, seventeenth, twentieth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth chapters : Job is noticed in the twenty-first, and thirty-eighth : David and Solomon, in the second, the twenty-first, the twenty-seventh, the thirty-fourth, and the thirty-eighth. Besides the various incidental allusions, both to these, and to other Old Testament worthies.

On the other hand, we find the narratives of the New Testament similarly introduced ; al-

though, as might be easily anticipated, its authority is far less frequently appealed to, and its facts are much more sparingly travestied. Thus, in the third and in the nineteenth chapters of the Koran, we have references to the histories of Zacharias, and of Saint John the Baptist: and in the second, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, nineteenth, and forty-third, there occur mangled misrepresentations of the Gospel narratives, concerning the Virgin Mary, and Jesus Christ.

The prominence here so palpably given to the Old Testament, in preference to the New, is only in unison with the whole character and constitution of Mahometanism, as hitherto delineated. For Mahomet originally announced his religion, as a revival of the religion of Abraham, or of the patriarchal faith: and, conformably with this announcement, his pretended revelation is accordingly modelled after the Hebrew, rather than after the Evangelic, Scriptures.

A specimen or two may suffice to exemplify the closeness with which the Koran sometimes follows the narratives of the Old Testament.

“ Our messengers also came formerly unto Abraham with good tidings. They said, Peace be upon thee! And he answered, And on you be peace! and he tarried not, but brought a roasted calf. And his wife, Sarah, was standing

by; and she laughed: and we promised her Isaac, and after Isaac, Jacob. She said, Alas! shall I bear a son, who am old; this my husband also being advanced in years? Verily, this would be a wonderful thing. The angels answered, Dost thou wonder at the effect of the command of God? The mercy of God, and his blessings, be upon you. And when his apprehension had departed from Abraham, and the good tidings of Isaac's birth had come unto him, he disputed with us concerning the people of Lot: for Abraham was a pitiful, compassionate, and devout person. The angels said unto him, O Abraham, abstain from this; for now is the command of thy Lord come, to put their sentence in execution, and an inevitable punishment is ready to fall upon them. And when our messengers came unto Lot, he was troubled for them; and his arm was straitened concerning them; and he said, This is a grievous day. And his people came unto him, rushing upon him: and they had formerly been guilty of wickedness. Lot said unto them, O my people, these my daughters are more lawful for you: therefore fear God, and put me not to shame by wronging my guests. Is there not a man of prudence among you? They answered, Thou knowest that we have no need of thy daughters; and thou well knowest

what we would have. He said, If I had strength sufficient to oppose thee, or I could have recourse unto a powerful support, I would certainly do it. The angels said, O Lot, verily we are the messengers of thy Lord; they shall by no means come in unto thee. Go forth, therefore, with thy family, in some part of the night, and let not any of you turn back: but as for thy wife, that shall happen unto her which shall happen unto them. Verily, the prediction of their punishment shall be fulfilled in the morning: Is not the morning near?" *

"And Abraham said, Verily, I am going unto my Lord, who will direct me. O Lord, grant me a righteous issue! Wherefore we acquainted him that he should have a son, who should be a meek youth. And when he had attained to years of discretion, and could join in acts of religion with him, Abraham said unto him, O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I should offer thee in sacrifice: consider therefore what thou art of opinion I should do. He answered, O my father, do what thou art commanded: thou shalt find me, if God please, a patient per-

* Sale's Koran, vol. ii. pp. 27—29. It is remarkable, that the events related in this passage of the Koran, are related *in the same order* in which they occur, in the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters of Genesis: an additional presumption that, however distorted in passing through the hands of Mahomet, the facts were borrowed *immediately* from Scripture.

son. And when they had submitted themselves to the divine will, and Abraham had laid his son prostrate on his face, we cried unto him, O Abraham, now hast thou verified the vision. Thus do we reward the righteous. Verily this was a manifest trial. And we ransomed him with a noble victim.”*

The following passage may serve to illustrate the kind of correspondence, which the Koran maintains with the historical relations of the New Testament.

“Zacharias called on his Lord, and said, Lord, give me from thee a good offspring, for thou art the hearer of prayer. And the Angels called to him, while he stood praying in the chamber, saying, Verily, God promiseth thee a son, named John, who shall bear witness to THE WORD which cometh from God; an honourable person, chaste, and one of the righteous prophets. He answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, when old age hath overtaken me, and my wife is barren? The Angel said, So God doth that which he pleaseth. Zacharias answered, Lord, give me a sign. The Angel said, Thy sign shall be, that thou shalt speak unto no man for three days, otherwise than by gesture. And when the Angels said, O Mary, verily, God hath chosen

* Sale's Koran, chap. xxxvii. vol. ii, pp. 312, 313.

thee, and hath purified thee, and hath chosen thee above all the women of the world. When the Angels said, O Mary, verily, God sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear THE WORD, proceeding from himself; his name shall be Christ Jesus, the son of Mary; honourable in this world, and in the world to come, and one of those who approach near to the presence of God: She answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? The Angel said, So God createth that which he pleaseth: when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is: God shall teach him the Scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel; and shall appoint him his apostle to the children of Israel.” *

But, besides agreements with the Old and New Testaments, of this palpable kind, the Koran betrays its obligations to both these sacred volumes, by numerous coincidences, more or less direct, with the sentiments, the images, and the phraseology of Scripture. The nature of

* Sale's Koran, chap. iii. pp. 61—63. Amidst wilful perversions and variations, the preservation of *the order and connection* of the Gospel narrative is what particularly claims our observation. In the Koran, as in the New Testament, the vision of Zacharias, and the promise of John, duly precede the Annunciation to the blessed Virgin, and the miraculous conception and nativity of Jesus Christ. The fact is important, as one among the many marks discernible in the Koran, of designed and studied plagiarism from Scripture.

the spurious analogy, between the pseudo-bible of Mahometanism, and our sacred books, may, in the next place, therefore, be illustrated by a selection of coincidences of this description : which shall be presented side by side with the parallel passages of Scripture.

BIBLE.

Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. †

But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth; that thine alms may be in secret: ‡ and thy Father, which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly. §

KORAN. *

Make not your alms of none effect, by reproaching, or mischief; as he who layeth out what he hath, to appear unto men to give alms. Vol. i. chap. ii. p. 50. †

If ye make your alms to appear, it is well; but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this will be better for you, ‡ and will atone for your sins: and God is well informed of that which ye do. Ib. p. 51.

* Sale's translation. The passages which follow might have been easily arranged under heads: but it has been judged more simple and satisfactory, to take them nearly in the order in which they occur in the Koran.

† "They who lay out their substance for the religion of God, and afterwards follow not what they have so laid out by reproaches or mischief, they shall have their reward with their Lord." Koran, ib. The more strongly marked plagiarisms may be sometimes completed from the context of the Koran: such passages shall be occasionally added at the foot of the page.

‡ How marked the contrast, in this imitation, between the uncompromising spirit of the Gospel, and the accommodating facility of the Koran. Our Lord enjoins secrecy in well-doing: Mahomet leaves the choice of concealment, or publicity.

§ "They who distribute alms of their substance, night and day, in private and in public, shall have their reward with their Lord." Koran, ch. ii. p. 51.

BIBLE.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. St. Matth. vi. 1—5.

Give alms of such things as ye have. St. Luke, xi. 41.

When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed: for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just. Ib. xiv. 13, 14.

For the Lord giveth wisdom. Prov. ii. 6.

Whoso is wise, will ponder these things. Ps. cvii. 43.

Unto you therefore which believe he is precious: but unto them which be disobedient — a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence. But ye are a chosen ge-

KORAN.

The hypocrites act deceitfully with God: when they stand up to pray, they stand carelessly, affecting to be seen of men. Ch. iv. p. 122.

Bestow alms of the good things which ye have gained. Ch. ii. p. 51.

The good that ye shall give in alms, shall redound unto yourselves: and ye shall not give unless out of desire of seeing the face of God: and what good things ye shall give in alms, it shall be repaid you: unto the poor, &c. Ch. ii. p. 51.*

God giveth wisdom unto whom he pleaseth:

But none will consider, except the wise in heart. Ib.

God is the patron of those who believe;

He shall lead them out of darkness into light:

But as to those who believe not,

* Another passage, p. 52. of this context, plainly seems taken from our Lord's parable, St. Luke, xviii. 23—35. "If there be any debtor under a difficulty of paying his debt, let his creditor wait, till it be easy for him to do it: but if ye remit it as alms, it will be better for you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ye shall return unto God: then shall every soul be paid what it hath gained."

BIBLE.

neration — that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. 1 Pet. ii. 7—9.

Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word, before God and all the people. St. Luke, xxiv. 19.

Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him. Acts, iii. 22.

Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus. (Heb. iii. 1.) And the Word was made flesh. (St. John, i. 14.) I proceeded forth and came from God. (Ib. viii. 42.) Christ took upon him the form of a servant. (Philipp. ii. 7.) ‡

* i. e. Idols, or demons.

† The reader will not fail to remark, that, with one exception, the above coincidences occur in the same chapter of the Koran ; and within the space of three or four pages.

‡ This passage of the Koran is compiled quite in the spirit of modern Unitarianism. Like his heretical successors, those very passages of Scripture which most strongly affirm the divinity of Christ, the Arabian impostor perverts into denials of that divinity. The first chapter of Saint John, and the second of Philippians, adduced to prove that Christ is *not* God ! It should not be lost sight of whence the Unitarians of later times have stolen their boasted denomination : الموحدين “ The Unitarians,” was, in every age, the favourite title of the Moslems. See Bohadin. Vit. Saladin. p. 104.

KORAN.

Their patrons are Tagut ; *
They shall lead them from
the light into darkness.
Ib. p. 48. †

We gave evident miracles
unto Jesus the son of Mary,
and strengthened him with
the Holy Spirit. Ch. ii. p. 17.

We gave unto Jesus the
son of Mary manifest signs,
and strengthened him with
the Holy Spirit. Ib. p. 47.

Verily, Christ Jesus, the
son of Mary, is the Apostle
of God ; and his Word which
he conveyed into Mary ; and
a spirit proceeding from him.
Christ doth not proudly dis-
dain to be a servant unto
God. Ch. iv. p. 126. ‡

BIBLE.

Jesus said unto them, The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk; the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear; the dead are raised up. St. Luke, vii. 22.

Who can forgive sins but God alone? Ib. v. 21.

Godliness is profitable unto all things:

Having promise of the life that now is,

And of that which is to come. 1 Tim. iv. 8.

I the Lord search the heart; I try the reins. Jer. xvii. 10.

Be not afraid of them that kill the body;

But fear Him, which hath power to cast into hell. St. Luke, xii. 4, 5.

He that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me. St. Matt. x. 40.

Such were some of you: but ye are sanctified by the Spirit of our God. 1 Cor. vi. 11.

These sinners against their own souls. Num. xvi. 38.

KORAN.

He [Jesus] shall say — I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth; and the leper; and I will raise the dead.* Ch. iii. p. 64.

Who forgiveth sins except God? Ib. p. 79.

And God gave them the reward of this world;

And a glorious reward in the life to come:

For God loveth the well-doers. † Ib. p. 81.

And this came to pass:

That God might try what was in your breasts;

And might discern what was in your hearts. Ib. p. 83.

Be ye not afraid of them;

But fear me, if ye be true believers. Ib. p. 87.

Whoever obeyeth the apostle, obeyeth God. Ch. iv. p. 109.

Such have ye formerly been: but God hath been gracious unto you. Ib. p. 113.

Whoso committeth wickedness, committeth it against his own soul. Ib. p. 116.

* These scriptural signs are adulterated in the Koran, by the ridiculous legend of the creation of a bird from clay.

† "For God loveth a cheerful giver." 2 Cor. ix. 7.

BIBLE.

For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance. Heb. vi. 4—6.

Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our Father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. St. Matth. iii. 9.

But woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation, St. Matth. xxiii. 13, 14.

KORAN.

Moreover, they who believed, and afterwards became infidels, and then believed again, and after that disbelieved, and increased in infidelity, God will by no means forgive them, nor direct them into the right way. Ib. p. 121.

If He pleaseth, he will take you away, O men, and will produce others in your stead: for God is able to do this. Ib. p. 120.

Because of the iniquity of those who judaize, and because they shut out many from the way of God, and have taken usury, which was forbidden them by the law, and devoured man's substance vainly; we have prepared for such of them as are unbelievers, a painful punishment. Ib. p. 125.*

* It is the Jews who are spoken of in the above contexts; and it is very remarkable, with how much precision the denunciations of Scripture are applied to them. Among other accusations here preferred against them, it is said, "They have made void their covenant; and have not believed in the signs of God; and have slain the prophets unjustly; and have said, our hearts are uncircumcised," &c. p. 123, 124. Allusions applied so correctly and in point, as to make it almost clear that they were taken immediately from Scripture.

BIBLE.

Harden not your hearts, as in the day of temptation in the wilderness. Forty years long was I grieved with this generation. Psalm xcv. 8. 10.

Thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe. Exod. xxi. 23. 25.

But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. 2 Cor. iii. 14, 15.

They said therefore unto him, What sign shewest thou

KORAN.

We have cursed them, and hardened their hearts. Verrily the land shall be forbidden them forty years. Ch. v. p. 132. 134.

We have therein [in the Law] commanded them, that they should give life for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and that wounds should also be punished by retaliation.* Ib. p. 139, 140.

There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee, when thou readest the Koran; but we have cast veils over their hearts, that they should not understand it, and a deafness in their ears. Ch. vi. p. 160.

The infidels say, unless some sign be sent down unto

* Besides verbal variations, Mahomet adds a precept not contained in the Pentateuch, "But whoever should remit it as alms, it should be accepted as an atonement for him." The addition was evidently made with design; and, it would seem, with a benevolent purpose: namely, by thus softening down the Jewish law of retaliation, to abate the vindictive spirit of retaliation among the Arabs. The mention of *wounds* may show that Mahomet followed Exodus, rather than the parallel places of Leviticus or Deuteronomy.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

then, that we may see, and believe thee?^{*} St. John vi. 30.

He who hath clean hands, and a pure heart. Ps. xxiv. 4.

For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things †; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled. Acts, xv. 28, 29.

In the beginning God created the heaven, and the earth. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. Gen. i. 1. 3.

Thy word is truth. St. John, xvii. 17.

And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ. Rev. xi. 15.

him from his Lord, we will not believe.* Ib. p. 162.

Leave both the outside of iniquity, and the inside thereof. Ib. p. 177.

I find not in that which hath been revealed unto me, any thing forbidden unto the eater, except that which dieth of itself, or blood poured forth, or swine's flesh; or that which is profane, having been slain in the name of some other than God. Ib. p. 182.

It is He who hath created the heavens, and the earth. And whenever he saith unto a thing, Be, it is.

His word is the truth.

And His will be the kingdom, *on the day whereon the trumpet shall be sounded.* Ib. p. 168.

* In Mahomet's day, as in our Lord's, the infatuated Jews, in particular, continued to "seek after a sign!"

† "O Lord, lay not on us a burthen like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us," (i. e. the Jews.) Koran, ch. iii. ad fin. where, as above, the allusion is to prohibited meats. See Mr. Sale's note c.

BIBLE.

In six days the Lord made heaven and earth. *Exod. xx. 11.*

And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also. *Gen. i. 16.*

It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. *St. Matth. xix. 24.*

And he [Moses] was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread nor drink water: and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments. *Exod. xxxiv. 28.*

And he [Moses] said, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory. And He [the Lord] said, Thou canst not see my face; for there shall no man see me, and live. *Exod. xxxiii. 18. 20.*

And He said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord, thou

KORAN.

God created the heavens and the earth in six days: He causeth the night to cover the day; it succeedeth the same swiftly: He also created the sun, and the moon, and the stars. *Ch. vii. p. 194.**

The gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them, neither shall they enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle. *Ib. p. 191, 192.*

And we appointed unto Moses a fast, before we gave him the law; and the stated time of his Lord was fulfilled in forty nights. And we wrote for him on the tables an admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case. *Ib. p. 210, 211.*

And when Moses came at our appointed time, and his Lord spake unto him, he said, O Lord! shew me thy glory, that I may behold thee. God answered, Thou shalt in no wise behold me. *Ib. p. 210.*

And Moses chose out of his people seventy men, to

* The account of the Fall, in this chapter, is imitated very closely after the narrative in Genesis. See p. 188, 189.

BIBLE.

and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel. Exod. xxiv. 1.

Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden. Take my yoke upon you. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light. St. Matth. xi. 28—30.

The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as *swift* as the eagle flieth:—a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favour to the young. — And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other. Deut. xxviii. 49, 50. 64.

If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple. St. Luke, xiv. 26, 27. Compare St. Mark, x. 21, 22.

KORAN.

go up with him to the mountain at the time appointed by us. Ib. p. 213.

And he [Mahomet] will ease them of their heavy burden, and of the yokes which were upon them. Ib. p. 214.

And remember when thy Lord declared, that he would surely send against the Jews, until the day of resurrection, some nation who should afflict them with a grievous oppression: for thy Lord is *swift* in punishing:—and we dispersed them among the nations of the earth. Ib. p. 216.

If your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and your substance which ye have acquired, and your merchandize which ye apprehend may not be sold off, and your dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than God, and his apostle, and the advancement of his religion, &c. Ch. ix. p. 241.

BIBLE.

And when he [Moses] was full forty years old, it came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of Israel. Acts, vii. 23.

And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. Dan. viii. 23.

I will open my mouth in parables;

I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world. St. Matth. xiii. 35.

My servant Moses is not so: — With him will I speak mouth to mouth — and not in dark speeches. Num. xii. 8.

For sin shall not have dominion over you:

For ye are not under the law, but under grace. Rom. vi. 14. cf. 2, 3. 15.

Who maketh the dumb, or

KORAN.

I have already dwelt among you to the age of forty years, before I received it [the Koran]. Do ye, therefore, not understand? Vol. ii. ch. x. p. 2.

According to thy dream, shall thy Lord chuse thee, and teach thee the interpretation of dark sayings.

We taught him the interpretation of dark sayings: but the greater part of men do not understand.

O Lord, thou hast given me a part of the kingdom; and hast taught me the interpretation of dark sayings.

This is a secret history, which we reveal unto thee, O Mohammed. * Ib. ch. xii. pp. 35. 38. 52.

Verily God will not change his grace which is in men, until they change the disposition in their souls, by sin. Ch. xiii. p. 55.

Shall the blind and the

* For the application of Dan. viii. 23, to Mahomet, see Vol. i. pp. 181, 182. The prediction seems specially appropriated to himself, in the above passage of the Koran. The understanding of dark sayings, we see, was a distinguishing mark of the prophetic characters and offices of Christ and Moses: to lay claim to this distinction, therefore, was essential to the pretensions of the Arabian antichrist.

BIBLE.

deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? *Exod. iv. 11.*

For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? *St. Matth. xvi. 26.*

Who is wise, and he shall understand these things?

Prudent, and he shall know them? *Hos. xiv. 9.*

Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered? *Ezek. xvii. 15.*

What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. *St. Matth. xix. 6.*

Give alms of such things as ye have. *St. Luke, xi. 41.*

Be not overcome of evil; but overcome evil with good. *Rom. xii. 21.*

And so, after he had patiently endured, he obtained the promises. *Heb. vi. 15.*

KORAN.

seeing be esteemed equal? *Ib. p. 57.*

Those who obey him not, although they were possessed of whatever is in the whole earth, and as much more, they would give it all for their ransom. *Ib.*

Shall he therefore, who knoweth that what hath been sent down unto thee from thy Lord is truth, be rewarded as he who is blind? The prudent only will consider; who fulfil the covenant of their God, and break not their contract; and who join that which God hath commanded to be joined; and who fear their Lord, and dread an ill account; and who persevere out of a sincere desire to please their Lord; and observe the stated times of prayer; and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, in secret and openly;

and who turn away evil with good. *Ib.*

Peace be upon you, because ye have endured with patience; but as for those who violate the covenant of

BIBLE.

What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. St. Mark, x. 9.

If ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed; it shall be done. St. Matth. xxi. 21.

The Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light. Acts, xxvi. 18.

Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world. 2 Tim. iv. 10. cf. ii. 4. and St. Luke, viii. 14. xxi. 34. Wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? Acts, xiii. 10. They have made them crooked paths. Isaiah, lix. 8.

Exod. iii, iv. &c. passim.

See St. Mark, iv. 31—34.

And he shall be like a tree, planted by the rivers of water,

KORAN.

God; and who cut in sunder that which God hath commanded to be joined.* Ib. p. 58.

Though a Koran were revealed, by which mountains should be removed. Ib.

This book have we sent down unto thee, that thou mayest lead men forth from darkness into light. Ch. xiv. ad init.

Woe be to the infidels,—who love the present life above that which is to come; and turn men aside from the way of God, and seek to render it crooked. Ib. ib.

We formerly sent Moses with our signs, and commanded him, saying, Lead forth thy people from darkness into light. Ib. p. 62.

Dost thou not see how God putteth forth a parable, representing a good word as a

* This favourite common-place of the Koran is manifestly borrowed from our Lord's words, St. Matth. xix. 6. St. Mark, x. 11.; and invariably misapplied. See Sale's Koran, vol. ii. p. 57. note b. To divert the language of Scripture from its original sense was the constant custom, or artifice, of Mahomet.

BIBLE.

that bringeth forth his fruit in his season. Ps. i. 3. cf. lxxx. 8—11.

Who changed the truth of God into a lie. Rom. i. 25.

The ungodly prosper in the world. When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me: until I went into the sanctuary of God; then understood I their end. Ps. lxxiii. 12, 16, 17.

For, behold, I create new heavens, and a new earth. Isaiah, lxxv. 17. Look for new heavens, and a new earth. 2 Pet. iii. 13. I will cause you to come up out of your graves. Ezek. xxxvii. 12. When shall I come and appear before God? Ps. xlii. 2. And every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour. 1 Cor. iii. 8.

And they laughed him to scorn. St. Matth. ix. 24. cf. 2 Chron. xxx. 10. Neh. ii. 19. Job, xii. 4.*

KORAN.

good tree, whose root is firmly fixed in the earth, and whose branches reach unto heaven; which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons. Ib. p. 65.

Who have changed the grace of God to infidelity. Ib.

Think not, O Prophet, that God is regardless of what the ungodly do. He only deferreth their punishment unto the day, &c. Ib. pp. 67, 68.

The day will come, when the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens into other heavens; and men shall come forth from their graves, to appear before the only, the mighty God. That God may reward every soul, according to what it shall have deserved. Ib. pp. 68, 69.

There came no apostle unto them, but they laughed him to scorn.* Ch. xv. p. 70.

* The references in the text mark with what accuracy the Koran makes this assertion.

BIBLE.

I was envious at the foolish,
When I saw the prosperity
of the wicked,
Thus my heart was grieved.
Ps. lxxiii. 21. cf. xxxvii. 1.
xlix. 16.

I will instruct thee, and
teach thee in the way which
thou shalt go. Ps. xxxii. 8.

Rejoice, O young man, in
thy youth, and let thy heart,
&c.; but know thou that, for
all these things, God will
bring thee into judgment.
Eccl. xi. 9.

If thou, Lord, shouldest
mark iniquities,
O Lord, who shall stand?
Ps. cxxx. 3.

In a moment, in the twink-
ling of an eye, at the last
trump. 1 Cor. xv. 52.

He that feareth Him, and
worketh righteousness, is ac-
cepted with Him. Acts, x.
36.

For this people's heart is
waxed gross;

And their ears are dull of
hearing;

And their eyes they have
closed. St. Matth. xiii.
15.

According to their deeds,

KORAN.

Cast not thine eyes on the
good things which we have
bestowed on several of the
unbelievers, so as to covet
the same; neither be thou
grieved on their account.
Ib. p. 74.

It appertaineth unto God,
to instruct men in the right
way. Ch. xvi. p. 76.

Delight yourselves in the
enjoyments of this life;
But hereafter shall ye know,
that ye cannot escape the
divine vengeance. Ib. p. 82.

If God should punish men
for their iniquity,
He would not leave on the
earth any moving thing. Ib.

The business of the last
hour shall be only as the
twinkling of an eye. Ib. p. 85.

Whoso worketh righteous-
ness, and is a true believer,
we will surely raise him to
a happy life. Ib. p. 88.

These are they, whose hearts,
and hearing,

and sight, God hath sealed
up. Ib. p. 92.

Every soul shall be repaid

BIBLE.

accordingly will he repay.
Isaiah, lix. 18. cf. Prov. xiii.
21.

And the times of this ignorance God winked at ; but now commandeth all men, every where, to repent. Acts, xvii. 30.

The merciful doeth good to his own soul :

But he that is cruel, troubleth his own flesh.
Prov. xi. 17. cf. viii. 36.

The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father ;
Neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son :
The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him ;

And the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. Ezek. xviii. 20.

Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God ; and Him only shalt thou serve. St. Matth. iv. 10.

Children, obey you parents in the Lord : for this is right. Honour thy father and mother (which is the first commandment with promise), that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth. Ephes. vi. 1. 3.

KORAN.

that which it shall have wrought. Ib. ib.

Moreover thy Lord will be favourable unto those who do evil through ignorance ; and afterwards repent and amend. Ib. p. 93.

If ye do well, ye will do well to your own souls ;

And if ye do evil, ye will do it unto the same. Ch. xvii. p. 96.

He who shall be rightly directed, shall be directed to the advantage only of his own soul ;

And he who shall err, shall err only against the same :

Neither shall any laden soul be charged with the burden of another. Ib. p. 98.

Thy Lord hath commanded that ye worship none besides Him : and that ye shew kindness unto your parents, whether the one of them, or both of them, attain to old age with thee. Wherefore, *say not unto them, Fy on you ! neither reproach them*, but speak respectfully unto them ; and submit to behave humbly towards them, out of tender

BIBLE.

For God commanded, saying, Honour thy father and mother : and, *He that curseth father or mother, &c.* St. Math. xv. 4.

The heavens declare the glory of God ;
And the firmament showeth his handy-work.
There is no speech nor language,
Where their voice is not heard. Ps. xix. 1. 3.

Moses put a vail over his face, that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look :—but their minds were blinded : for until this day remaineth the same vail untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament.—But, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their hearts. 2 Cor. iii. 13—15.

But some man will say,
How are the dead raised up?
And with what body do they come? 1 Cor. xv. 35.

Go to now, ye that say,
To-day, or to-morrow we

KORAN.

affection, and say, O Lord, have mercy on them both ! as they nursed me when I was little. Ib. p. 99.

The seven heavens praise Him, and the earth, and all who are therein ; neither is there any thing which doth not celebrate His praise ; But ye understand not their celebration thereof. Ib. p. 101.

When thou redest the Koran, we place between thee, and those who believe not in the life to come, a dark veil : and we put coverings over their hearts, lest they should understand it ; and in their ears, thickness of hearing.* Ib.

They disbelieve in our signs, and say,
When we shall have been reduced to bones and dust, shall we surely be raised new creatures ? Ib. p. 109.

Say not of any matter, I will surely do this to-mor-

* Verily we have cast veils over their hearts, lest they should understand the Koran ; and into their ears, thickness of hearing." Koran, ch. xviii. p. 121.

BIBLE.

will go, &c. For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this. St. James, iv. 13. 15.

For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book : and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away, &c. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

Isaiah, v. St. Matth. xxi. 33. St. Mark, xii. St. Luke, xx. 9.

The days of man are but as grass :

For he flourisheth as a flower of the field. Ps. ciii. 15.

In the morning it is green, and groweth up :

But in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered. Ps. xc. 6.

KORAN.

row ; unless thou add, if God please. Ch. xviii. p. 116.

Read that which hath been revealed unto thee, of the book of thy Lord, without presuming to make any change therein : there is none who hath power to change His words ; and thou shalt not find any to fly to, besides Him, if thou attempt it. Ib. pp. 116, 117.

And propound unto them as a parable two men ; on the one of whom we had bestowed two vineyards, and had surrounded them with palm trees, and had caused corn to grow between them. Each of the gardens brought forth its fruit every season, and failed not. Ib. pp. 117, 118.

And propound to them a similitude of the present life. It is like water which we send down from heaven ; and the herb of the earth is mixed therewith ; and after it hath been green and flourishing, in the morning it becometh dry stubble, which

BIBLE.

Like the chaff, which the
wind scattereth away
From the face of the earth.
Ps. i. 4.

And every island fled away;
And the mountains were not
found. Isaiah, liv. 10.
And they shall gather to-
gether his elect,
From the four winds;
From one end of heaven to
the other. St. Matth.
xxiv. 31.

For what if some did not
believe? Shall their un-
belief make the faith of God
without effect? Rom. iii. 3.

That at the name of Jesus
every knee should bow, of
things in heaven, and things
in earth, and things under
the earth. Philipp. ii. 10.

Till thou return unto the
ground, for out of it wast
thou taken :

For dust thou art, and unto
dust shalt thou return.
Gen. iii. 19.

Thou hast beset me behind
and before.

Such knowledge is too won-
derful for me ;

KORAN.

the winds scatter abroad. Ib.
p. 119.

On a certain day, we will
cause the mountains to pass
away: and we will gather
mankind together; and we
will not leave any one of
them behind. And they shall
be set before thy Lord. Ib.

Those who believe not,
dispute with vain arguments,
that they may thereby ren-
der the truth of no effect.
Ib. pp. 120, 121.

The Merciful sitteth on
his throne: unto him belong-
eth whatsoever is in heaven,
or on earth, and whatsoever
is between them, and what-
soever is under the earth.
Ch. xx. p. 139.

Out of the ground have we
created you ;

And to the same will we cause
you to return. Ib. p. 143.

God knoweth that which
is before them, and that
which is behind them; but
they comprehend not the

BIBLE.

KORAN.

It is high, I cannot attain unto it. Ps. cxxxix. 5, 6. same by their knowledge. Ib. p. 149.

It is He

That stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain ;

And spreadeth them out, as a tent to dwell in. Is. xl. 22.

Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. Gen. iii. 5.

Who have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil. Heb. v. 14.

Praise the Lord from the earth,

Mountains and all hills ;

Creeping things, and flying fowl. Ps. cxlviii. 7, 9, 10.

When I looked for good, then evil came unto me.

The days of affliction prevented me. Job, xxx. 26, 27.

Those that wait upon the Lord,

They shall inherit the earth.

And we made the heaven a roof well supported. Ib. p. 155.

We formerly gave unto Moses and Aaron the Law, being a distinction between good and evil.

And we compelled the mountains to praise us, with David ; and the birds also. * Ch. xxi. p. 161.

And remember Job, when he cried unto his Lord, saying, Verily evil hath afflicted me. Ib. p. 162.

And now have we written in the Psalms, after the promulgation of the Law, that

* “ Mohammed, it seems, taking the visions of the *Talmudists* for truth, believed that when David was fatigued with singing psalms, the mountains, birds, and other parts of the creation, both animate and inanimate, relieved him in chanting the divine praises. This consequence the *Jews* draw from the words of the Psalmist, when he calls on the several parts of nature to join with him in celebrating the praise of God : [see Ps. ciii. cxlviii.] it being their perverse custom to expound passages in the most literal manner, which cannot bear a literal sense without a manifest absurdity ; and, on the contrary, to turn the plainest passages into allegorical fancies.” Sale’s Koran, ut supr. Translator’s note *h*.

BIBLE.

The righteous shall inherit the land. Ps. xxxvii. 9. 29. cf. 3. 11. 22. 34.

Let us hold fast the profession of our faith, without wavering. Heb. x. 23.

Make the heart of this people fat ;

And make their ears heavy. Isaiah, vi. 10.

The god of this world hath blinded the minds of them who believe not. 2 Cor. iv. 4.

One day is with the Lord as a thousand years ;
And a thousand years as one day.

The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as men count slackness ; but is long suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.

But the day of the Lord will come, as a thief in the night. 2 Pet. iii. 8—10. *

KORAN.

my servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth. Ib. p. 165.

There are some men who serve God in a wavering manner. Ch. xxii. p. 167.

And have they not hearts to understand with ?
Or ears to hear with ?

Surely as to these things their eyes are not blind ;
But the hearts are blind, which are in their breasts. Ib. p. 173.

Verily one day with thy Lord is as a thousand years, of those which ye compute. Ib. p. 174.

They will urge thee to hasten the threatened punishment : but God will not fail to perform what he hath threatened.

Unto how many cities have I granted respite, though they were wicked ? yet afterwards I chastised them : and unto me shall they come to be judged at the last day. Ib. pp. 173, 174. *

* Mr. Sale, who scarcely ever verifies, or even adverts to, the passages of Scripture plagiarized from in the Koran, has marked the imitation in

BIBLE.

The Lord is the God of truth. Jer. x. 10.

Not rendering evil for evil : but contrariwise blessing. 1 Pet. iii. 9. cf. Rom. xii. 17. 20.

The hearing ear, and the seeing eye, the Lord hath made even both of them. Prov. xx. 12.

Lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart. 1 Kings, iii. 12.

And Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and found in the temple those that sold oxen, and sheep, and doves :— And said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence : make not my Father's house, an house of merchandize. And his disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up. St. John, ii. 13—17.

And my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. Rev. xxii. 12.

KORAN.

God is truth. Ib. p. 175.

Turn aside evil, with that which is better. Ib. p. 184.

It is God who hath created in you the senses of hearing and of sight, that ye may perceive our judgments ; and hearts, that ye may seriously consider them. Ib. p. 183.

In the houses which God hath permitted to be raised, and that his name be commemorated therein, men celebrate his praise in the same morning and evening, whom neither merchandizing, nor selling, diverteth from the remembering of God. Ch. xxiv. p. 195.

That God may recompense them according to the utmost merit of what they shall have wrought ;

this instance, by a reference to 2 Pet. iii. 8. It is, however, by the context, vv. 9, 10, that the plagiarism may be *proved*. The correspondence bears every mark of *studied* imitation.

BIBLE.

Do good, and your reward shall be great. St. Luke, vi. 35.

Good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. Ib. 38.

Jesus said unto him, Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor; — and come and follow me. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions. St. Matth. xix. 21, 22.

And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world; and preach the Gospel to every creature. St. Mark, xvi. 15.

The Son of man came eating and drinking; and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a wine-bibber. St. Matth. xi. 19. Compare St. Luke, xiii. 26.

For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then, we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up

KORAN.

And may add unto them, of His abundance, a more excellent reward:

For God bestoweth on whom he pleaseth, without measure. Ib.

They swear by God, with a most solemn oath, that, if thou [Mahomet] commandest them, they will go forth from their houses and possessions. Say, Swear not to a falsehood: obedience is more requisite. Ib. p. 197.

Blessed be he who hath revealed the Forkan unto his servant, that he may be a preacher unto all creatures. Ch. xxv. ad init.

And they say, What kind of Apostle is this? He eateth food, and walketh in the streets, as we do. Ch. xxv. p. 201.

On that day, the heaven shall be cloven in sunder by the clouds; and the Angels shall be sent down,

BIBLE.

KORAN.

together with them, in the clouds. 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

descending visibly therein. Ib. p. 203.

Doth a fountain send forth at the same place, sweet water and bitter? St. James, iii. 11.

It is He who hath let loose the two seas ;
This fresh and sweet, and that salt and bitter. Ib. p. 207.

I am He that liveth, and was dead ; and, behold, I am alive for evermore. Rev. i. 18.

And do thou trust in Him, who liveth, and dieth not. Ib.

Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out. Acts, iii. 19.

And whoever repenteth, and doth that which is right, verily he turneth unto God with an acceptable conversion. Ib. p. 208.

Turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all things that are therein :

Is God more worthy, or the false gods which they associate with him? Is not He to be preferred, who hath created the heavens, and the earth ; and sendeth down rain for you from heaven, whereby we cause delicious groves to spring up? Ch. xxviii. p. 228.

He gave us rain from Heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. Acts, xiv. 15. 17.

Verily, verily, the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God. St. John, v. 25.

Verily thou shalt not make the dead to hear ;

He maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak. St. Mark, vii. 37.

Neither shalt thou make the deaf to hear thy call ;

BIBLE.

A light of the Gentiles, to open the blind eyes. Is. xlii. 6, 7.

Who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

Call ye on the name of your gods, and I will call on the name of the Lord. And they cried aloud. And it came to pass, that there was neither voice, nor any to answer. 1 Kings, xviii. 24. 29.

The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: but, when tribulation, or persecution, ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended. St. Matth. xiii. 20, 21.

He that, by usury and unjust gain, increaseth his substance;

He shall gather it for him that will pity the poor.

Prov. xxviii. 8.

And every one that hath

KORAN.

Neither shalt thou direct the blind to extricate themselves out of their error.* Ib. p. 230.

And it shall be said unto the idolaters, Call now upon those whom ye associated with God: and they shall call upon them, but they shall not answer. Ch. xxviii. p. 241.

There are some men who say, We believe in God; but when such an one is afflicted for God's sake, he esteemeth the persecution of men to be as grievous, as the punishment of God. Ch. xxix. p. 246.

Whatever ye shall give in usury, to be an increase of men's substance,

Shall not be increased by the blessing of God:

But for whatever ye shall give in alms, for God's sake,

* How ample the confession in these words, of the inferiority of the Koran to the Gospel; of Mahomet to Christ! The spurious messiah here disclaims all exercise of those powers, which were to be at once the sign, and triumph, of the true Messiah. "Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant!"

BIBLE.

forsaken houses, and lands, for my name-sake, shall receive an hundred-fold.* St. Matth. xix. 29.

Out of weakness were made strong. Heb. xi. 34.

He weakened my strength in the way. Ps. cii. 23.

He weakeneth the strength of the mighty. Job, xii. 21.

If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence unto yonder place; and it shall remove. St. Matth. xvii. 20.

In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is; and rested the seventh day. Exod. xx. 11.

And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good. Gen. i. 31.

The disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of

KORAN.

Ye shall receive a twofold reward.* Ch. xxx. p. 258.

It is God who created you in weakness;

And after weakness hath given you strength;

And after strength, he will again reduce you to weakness. Ib.

Verily every matter, whether good or bad, though it be of the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be hidden in a rock, God will bring the same to light. Ch. xxxi. pp. 263, 264.

It is God who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them in six days; and then ascended his throne.

It is he who hath made every thing which he created, exceeding good. Ch. xxxii. p. 266, 267.

Men will ask thee concerning the approach of the last hour:

* The "good measure" of the Gospel stands suitably contrasted with the niggardly pittance of the Koran; the "hundred-fold," with the "two-fold," reward.

BIBLE.

the end of the world? Jesus answered and said unto them, Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only. St. Matth. xxiv. 3, 4. 36.

Praise the Lord from the earth,
Mountains, and all hills:
Creeping things, and flying fowl. Ps. cxlviii. 7. 9, 10.

If I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: — What is my reward then? Verily, that, when I preach the Gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge. 1 Cor. ix. 17.

Thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God. Acts, x. 4.

Bear ye one another's burdens. But let every man prove his own work; and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another. For every man

KORAN.

answer;
Verily, the knowledge thereof is with God alone. Ch. xxxiii. p. 284.

We heretofore bestowed on David, excellence from us:

And we said, O mountains sing alternate praises with him;

And we obliged the birds also to join therein*: Ch. xxxiv. p. 287.

I ask not any reward for my preaching; it is your own, either to give or not: my reward is to be expected from God alone. Ib. p. 294.

Unto Him ascendeth the good speech;

And the righteous work will he exalt. Ch. xxxv. p. 296.

A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another: and if a heavy burdened soul call on another to bear part of its burden, no part thereof shall be borne by the person

* See ch. xxi. p. 161. Translator's note *h*.

BIBLE.

shall bear his own burden.
Gal. vi. 2. 4, 5.

Sell that ye have, and give
alms; provide yourselves
bags which wax not old, a
treasure in the heavens that
faileth not. St. Luke, xii. 33.

And God shall wipe away
all tears from their eyes;
and there shall be no more
death, neither sorrow, nor
crying. Rev. xxi. 4.

For he looked for a city
which hath foundations, whose
builder — is God. Heb. xi.
10.

They shall hunger no more,
neither thirst any more;
Neither shall the sun light on
them, nor any heat.
Rev. vii. 16.

Then pleased it the Apos-
tles — to send to Antioch —

Judas surnamed Barsabas,
and Silas. Acts, xv. 22.

But when Peter was come
to Antioch. Gal. ii. 11.

The earth, which drinketh

KORAN.

who shall be called on. Ch.
xxxv. p. 297.

Verily, they who give alms
out of what we have be-
stowed on them, both in secret
and openly, hope for a mer-
chandize which shall not
perish. Ib. p. 298.

And they [the blessed] shall
say,
Praise be unto God, who
hath taken away sorrow
from us:

Who hath caused us to take
up our rest, in a dwell-
ing of eternal stability,

Wherein no labour shall
touch us; neither shall
any weariness affect us.
Ib. p. 299.

Propound unto them as an
example the inhabitants of
the city of Antioch, when
the Apostles of Jesus came
thereto: when we sent unto
them two of the said Apos-
tles; but they charged them
with imposture. Wherefore
we strengthened them with
a third. Ch. xxxvi. pp. 301,
302.

One sign of the resurrec-

BIBLE.

in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God. Heb. vi. 7.

And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered: [the son of man shall send his angels, with a great sound of a trumpet. St. Matt. xxiv. 31.] In that day, he which shall be on the house-top, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away: and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back. St. Luke, xvii. 20. 31.

All that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth. St. John, v. 28, 29.

And He said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones, Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live. Ezek. xxxvii. 3. 5.

The Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him,

KORAN.

tion unto them is the dead earth: we quicken the same by the rain; and produce thereout various sorts of grain, of which they eat. Ch. xxxvi. pp. 303, 304.

And they say, When will this promise of the resurrection be fulfilled, if ye speak truth? They only wait for one sounding of the trumpet, which shall overtake them while they are disputing together; and they shall not have time to make any disposition of their effects, neither shall they return to their family.

And the trumpet shall be sounded again; and behold, they shall come forth from their graves, and hasten unto their Lord. Ib. p. 305.

He saith, Who shall restore bones to life, when they are rotten? Answer, He shall restore them to life, who produced them the first time. Ib. 307.

Abraham also was of his [Noah's] religion: when he

BIBLE.

Walk before me, and be thou perfect. Gen. xvii. 1.

Whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord. St. James, vi. 8.

What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? St. Matth. xvi. 26.

My grace is sufficient for thee. 1 Cor. xii. 9.

Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand?

And comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure?

And the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll. Isaiah, xl. 12. xxxiv. 4.

The Lord shall be thine everlasting light. Ib. lx. 20.

If thy brother repent, forgive him. St. Luke, xvii. 3.

The judgment is God's. Deut. i. 17.

KORAN.

came unto his Lord with a perfect heart. *

They who do good in this world, shall obtain good in the next. Ch. xxxix. p. 326.

Verily they will be the losers, who shall lose their own souls. Ib. p. 327.

God is my sufficient support. Ib. p. 330.

But they make not a due estimation of God : since the whole earth shall be but his handful, on the day of resurrection, and the heavens shall be rolled together in His right hand. Ib. p. 332.

And the earth shall shine, by the light of its Lord. Ib. p. 333.

God : the Forgiver of sin, and the acceptor of repentance. Ch. xl. p. 334.

Judgment belongeth unto the high, the great God. Ib. p. 336.

* "Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations; and Noah walked with God." Gen. vi. 9. The reference is most accurate : the scriptural testimony to Abraham is the same with that to Noah.

BIBLE.

Men loved darkness, rather than light. St. John, iii. 19.

If thine enemy hunger, feed him ;
If he thirst, give him drink :
For, in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.

Be not overcome of evil ;
But overcome evil with good.
Rom. xii. 20, 21.

He that keepeth the commandments, keepeth his own soul :
But he that despiseth his ways shall die. Prov. xix. cf. x. 36.

There are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger. St. Luke, xvii. 18.
Then they cried unto the Lord, in their trouble.
Ps. cvii. 6. 13. 19, &c.

KORAN.

They loved blindness, better than the true direction.
Ch. xli. p. 315.

Turn away evil with that which is better ; and behold, the man between whom and thyself there was enmity, shall become, as it were, thy warmest friend. Ib. p. 347.

He who doth right, doth it to the advantage of his own soul ;
And he who doth evil, doth it against the same. Ib. p. 348.

When we confer favours on man, he turneth aside, and departeth without returning thanks. *
But when evil toucheth him, he is frequent at prayer.
Ib. p. 349.

* " And *one* of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God ; and fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks." St. Luke, ut supr. 15, 16.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

He that soweth to his flesh,	Whoso chooseth the tillage of the life to come,
Shall of the flesh reap corruption :	Unto him will we give increase in his tillage :
But he that soweth to the spirit,	And whoso chooseth the tillage of this world,
Shall of the spirit reap life everlasting.* Gal. vi. 8.	We will give him the fruit thereof.* Ch. xlii. p. 352.
They that go down to the sea in ships.	The ships running in the sea, like high mountains :
They mount up to the heaven.	
Then they cry unto the Lord.	
He maketh the storm a calm.	If He pleaseth, he causeth the wind to cease ;
So he bringeth them unto their desired haven. Ps. cvii. 23—30.	And they lie still on the back of the water. Ib. pp. 353, 354.
For now we see through a glass darkly ;	It is not fit for man, that God should speak unto him otherwise than by private revelation ; or from behind a veil ; or by his sending a messenger to reveal, by his permission, that which he pleaseth. Ib. p. 355.
But then face to face :	
Now I know in part ;	
But then shall I know,	
Even as also I am known. 1 Cor. xiii. 12. cf. 2 Cor. iii. 7, &c.	
Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me. 2 Tim. i. 13.	Hold fast the doctrine, which hath been revealed unto thee. Ch. xliii. p. 359.
And all the people rejoiced, for all the glorious	And when the son of Mary was proposed for an example ;

* Each of these passages is a fine specimen of the alternate parallelism. (See Sacred Literature, p. 29.) It is remarkable that the great moral truth which they alike inculcate, should, by Saint Paul, and by Mahomet, have been cast in the same mould.

BIBLE.

things that were done by him. St. Luke, xiii. 17.

The God of heaven and earth. Ezra, v. 11.

But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou, in thy lifetime, receivedst thy good things :—but now—thou art tormented. St. Luke, xvi. 25.

In every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him. Acts, x. 35.

The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light. St. John, i. 7.

I am Gabriel, and am sent to show thee these glad tidings. St. Luke, i. 17.

O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Ib. iii. 7.

KORAN.

behold thy people cried out through excess of joy thereat.* Ch. xliii. p. 360.

He who is God in heaven, is God on earth also. Ib. p. 362.

It shall be said unto them, [theunbelievers] Yereceived your good things in your lifetime : wherefore this day, ye shall be rewarded with punishment. Ch. xlv. p. 373.

Those who believe and work righteousness,

And believe in the revelation sent down unto Moham-med,

He [God] will expiate their evil deeds from them,

And will dispose their heart aright. Ch. xlvii. ad init.

Verily we have sent thee to be a witness,

and a bearer of good tidings,

and a denouncer of threats.† Ib. p. 382.

* Throughout the Koran, the mention of our Lord's name is almost uniformly accompanied by a denial of his divine nature. The impostor acts like the rebel against his earthly king ; who owns the justness of his title, by his very labour to do it away.

† These characters belonged to John the Baptist : whom the eastern antichrist would thus appropriate to himself, as *his* forerunner.

BIBLE.

And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep and rise, night and day; and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. St. Mark, iv. 26—28.

I *hate* vain thoughts;
But thy law do I love. Ps.
cxix. 113.

Abhor that which is evil;
Cleave to that which is good.
Rom. xii. 9.

Why beholdest thou themote
that is in thy brother's eye?
St. Matth. vii. 3.

Whoso privily slandereth his
neighbour,

Him will I cut off. Ps. ci. 5.

KORAN.

This is their description in the Pentateuch*, and their description in the Gospel: they are as seed, which putteth forth its stalk, and strengtheneth it, and swelleth in the ear, and riseth upon its stem; giving delight unto the sower. Such are the Moslems described to be. Ch. xlviii. p. 387.

God hath made the faith
amiable unto you, and
hath prepared the same
in your hearts;

And hath rendered infidelity,
and iniquity, and dis-
obedience, *hateful* unto
you. Ch. xlix. p. 388.

Inquire not too curiously
into other men's failings;

Neither let the one of you
speak ill of another, in
his absence:

Would any of you desire to
eat the flesh of his dead
brother? † Ib. 389.

* No such description occurs in the Pentateuch: the allusion to the Gospel is sufficiently borne out. Inferior as it is in beauty, and in moral depth, to the divine original, the imitation is still a fine one.

† The "*Absentem qui rodit amicum*" of Horace will occur to the classical reader. The Roman, and the Arabian moralist, seldom come thus nearly together. The identifying of the *absent* with the *dead* is a noble conception. So *our* great moral poet:—

Absent or dead, still let a friend be dear.

BIBLE.

Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness, without works. Rom. iv. 6.

That his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God. St. John, iii. 21.

Rejoice, and be exceeding glad ;

For great is your reward in heaven. St. Matth. v. 12.

For every one that exalteth himself, shall be abased ;
And he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.
St. Luke, xviii. 14.

But some men will say,
How are the dead raised up ?
And with what body do they come ? Thou fool, that which thou sowest, is not quickened, except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain. But God giveth it a body, as it hath pleased him. 1 Cor. xv. 35—38.

Let the heaven and earth praise him ;

KORAN.

A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another ; and nothing shall be imputed to a man for righteousness, except his own labour ; and his labour shall surely be made manifest hereafter ; and he shall be rewarded for the same with the most abundant reward. Ch. liii. pp. 403, 404.

The inevitable day of judgment — will abase some, and exalt others. Ch. lvi. p. 413.

Ye know the original production, by creation ;
Will ye not therefore consider, that we are able to reproduce you by resurrection.

What think ye ?

The grain which ye sow, do ye cause the same to spring forth ? Or do we cause it to spring forth ?
Ib. p. 416.

Whatever is in heaven and earth singeth praise unto God ;

BIBLE.

KORAN.

The seas, and every thing that moveth therein. Ps. lxxix. 34.	And He is mighty and wise* :
The most high God, pos- sessor of heaven and earth. Gen. xiv. 19.	His is the kingdom of heaven and earth ;
The Lord killeth, and maketh alive :	He giveth life, and he put- teth to death ; And he is Almighty † :
He bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up. 1 Sam. ii. 6.	
I am the First, and I am the last. Isaiah, xliv. 6. cf. Rev. xxii. 13.	He is the first and the last,
God was manifest in the flesh. 2 Tim. iii. 16.	The manifest and the hidden ; And he knoweth all things. ‡ Ch. lvii. ad init.
He that hath pity upon the poor, Lendeth unto the Lord ;	Who is he that will lend unto God an acceptable loan ? For He will double the same unto him ;
And that which he hath given, He will pay him again. Prov. xix. 17.	And he shall receive more- over an honourable re- ward. Ib. p. 419.
Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil ; for our lamps are gone out. But the wise answered, saying, Go ye rather to them that	On that day the hypocrit- ical men, and the hypocrit- ical women, shall say unto those who believe : Stay for us, that we may borrow some of your light. It shall be answered : Return back into

* " God is wise in heart, and mighty in strength." Job, ix. 4. cf. xii. 13—16. xxxvi. 5. and compare with Koran *passim*.

† " I am the Almighty God." Gen. xvii. 1.

‡ " Lord, thou knowest all things." St. John, xxi. 17.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

sell, and buy for yourselves.
St. Matth. xxv. 9.

God resisteth the proud,
But giveth grace unto the
humble. St. James, iv. 6.

Whosoever shall break one
of these commandments,
And shall teach men so.
St. Matth. v. 19. cf.
1 Cor. vi. 10.

If two of you shall agree
on earth, as touching any
thing that they shall ask, it
shall be done for them of my
Father which is in heaven.
For where two or three are
gathered together in my
name, there am I in the
midst of them.† St. Matth.
xviii. 19, 20.

He that loveth father or
mother more than me, is not
worthy of me; and he that
loveth son or daughter more
than me is not worthy of me.
St. Matth. x. 37.

If any man come to me,
and hate not his father, and

the world, and seek light.*
Ch. lvii. p. 419.

God loveth no proud or vain-
glorious person;

Or those who are covetous,
and command men co-
vetousness. Ib. p. 421.

God: There is no private
discourse among three per-
sons, but he is the fourth of
them; nor among five, but
he is the sixth of them; nei-
ther among a smaller number
than this nor a larger, but he
is with them, whosoever
they be.† Ch. lviii. p. 424.

Thou shalt not find people
who believe in God and the
last day, to love him who
opposeth God and his Apos-
tle; although they be their
fathers, or their sons, or their
brethren, or their nearest re-
lations. Ib. ad fin.

* The peculiarity of this illustration seems to place beyond doubt, its reference to our Lord's parable of the ten virgins. How this beautiful parable has suffered in the imitation needs not be pointed out. Indeed, without the Gospel original, the imitation would be unintelligible.

† It is worthy of remark, that most of the prerogatives which Mahomet introduces as attributes of the Deity, are to be found in Scripture, attributed to Christ, whose Godhead might thus be deduced from the Koran.

BIBLE.

mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, he cannot be my disciple. St. Luke, xiv. 26.

Do not ye after their works, for they say, and do not. St. Matth. xxiii. 3.

And it came to pass afterward, that he went throughout every city and village, preaching, and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God. St. Luke, viii. 1.

But I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter. St. John, xiv. 16.

But the comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, — the Father will send, in my name.* Ib. 26.

The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee, a Prophet from the midst of thee of thy brethren, like unto me. Deut. xviii. 15.

KORAN.

It is most odious in the sight of God, that ye say that which ye do not. Ch. lxi. ad init.

And when Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God sent unto you, confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed.* Ib. p. 435, 436.

It is He who hath raised up, amidst the illiterate Arabians, an apostle from among themselves, to re-

* For the impious and monstrous perversion of Scripture here exhibited, Mahomet had still a precedent in Church history: Montanus, the preceptor and perverter of Tertullian, in like manner, gave himself out as the Comforter, or Paraclete, promised by Christ. "The Persian paraphrast, to support what is here alleged, quotes the following words of Christ: 'I go to my Father, and the Paraclete shall come: '[see St. John, xvi. 7.] The Mohammedan doctors unanimously teaching, that by the Paraclete (or as they chuse to read it, the Periclyte, or Illustrious,) their prophet is intended, and no other." Sale, vol. ii. p. 436. note b.

BIBLE.

And he shall purify the sons of Levi,—that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. Conf. Tit. ii. 13, 14.*

And a man's foes shall be they of his own household. St. Matth. x. 36.

Many are the afflictions of the righteous :
But the Lord delivereth him out of them all. Ps. xxxiv. 19.

Unto you therefore which believe he [Christ] is precious : That ye should show forth the praises of Him, who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. † 1 Pet. ii. 9.

And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo there was a great earthquake :—and every mountain and island were moved

KORAN.

hearse his signs unto them, and to purify them, and to teach them the Scriptures and wisdom.* Ch. lxii. ad init.

O true believers, verily of your wives and your children you have an enemy. Ch. lxiv. p. 442.

Whoso feareth God :

Unto him will he grant a happy issue out of all his afflictions. Ch. lxv. ad init.

Now hath God sent down unto you an Apostle, that he may bring forth those who believe, and do good works, from darkness into light. †
Ib. ad fin.

And when one blast shall sound the trumpet,
And the earth shall be moved from its place, and the mountains also,

* In this one plagiarism, the eastern Antichrist applies to himself *two* of the most illustrious predictions of the Old Testament, concerning the advent of the Messiah : the one delivered by Moses, the first, the other, by Malachi, the last, of the Jewish prophets !

† The impostor returns again and again to this plagiarism, and assumption of the office of the Christ, which occur first, Ch. ii. p. 48.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

out of their places. Rev. vi.
12. 14.

And the heaven departed
as a scroll, when it is rolled
together. Ib. 14.

For we shall all stand be-
fore the judgment-seat of
Christ. Rom. xiv. 10.

Riches profit not, in the day
of wrath. Prov. xi. 4.

He seeth that their power is
gone. Deut. xxxii. 36.

Then shall he say unto
them on his left hand, De-
part from me ye cursed, into
everlasting fire. St. Matth.
xxv. 41.

And lo, a voice from heaven,
saying,

This is my beloved Son, in
whom I am well pleased.
St. Matth. iii. 17.

And shall be dashed in pieces
at one stroke :

On that day, the inevitable
hour of judgment shall
suddenly come ;

And the heavens shall cleave
in sunder, and shall fall
in pieces, on that day.

On that day ye shall be pre-
sented before the judg-
ment-seat of God. Ch.
lxix. pp. 456, 457.

But he who shall have his
book delivered, in his left
hand, shall say,
O that death had made an
end of me.

My riches have not profited
me ;

And my power is passed from
me.

And God shall say to the
keepers of hell, Take him,
and bind him, and cast him
into hell to be burned.* Ib.
p. 457.

He doth not communicate
his secrets unto any,

Except an Apostle in whom
he is well pleased. Ch.
lxxii. ad fin.

* The loathsome details interlarded, in the context of the Koran, with these imitations of Scripture, present the spurious counterfeit in all its native deformity.

BIBLE.

How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation? Heb. ii. 3. conf. xii. 25.

Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment:

Likewise also the good works of some are manifest beforehand. 1 Tim. v. 24.

And if ye lend to them, of whom ye hope to receive,

What thank have ye?

And lend, hoping for nothing again. St. Luke, vi. 34, 35.

Tell us when shall these things be? and the end of the world? And Jesus answered, The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven. St. Matth. xxv. 3. 29, 30.

KORAN.

How, therefore, will ye escape, if ye believe not, the day which shall make children become grey-headed through terror? Ch. lxxiii. p. 467.

Whatever good ye send before for your souls, Ye shall find the same with God. Ch. lxxiv. ad fin.

And be not liberal, in hopes to receive more in return. Ib. ad init.

He asketh,

When will the day of resurrection be?

But, when the sight shall be dazzled,

And the moon shall be eclipsed,

And the sun and the moon shall be in conjunction;

On that day, man shall say, Where is a place of refuge? * Ch. lxxv. p. 472.

* "Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us!" St. Luke, xxiii. 30. cf. Rev. vi. 16.

BIBLE.

Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward. St. Mark, ix. 41. cf. St. Matth. x. 42.

And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely. Rev. xxii. 17.

The day of the Lord cometh, — it is nigh at hand. Joel, ii. 1.

Men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth. St. Luke, xxi. 26.

And they asked him, saying, Master, but when shall these things be? Ib. xxi. 7.

But of that day and hour

KORAN.

The just — fulfil their vow, and dread the day, the evil whereof will disperse itself far abroad; and give food unto the poor, and the orphan, and the bondman, for his sake, saying, We feed you for God's sake only: we desire no recompense from you, nor any thanks. Ch. lxxvi. p. 474.

Whoso, therefore, willeth, let him return unto his Lord. Verily we threaten you with a punishment nigh at hand: the day whereon a man shall behold the good or evil deeds which his hands have sent before him. Ch. lxxviii. p. 479.

On a certain day, the disturbing blast of the trumpet shall disturb the universe; and the subsequent blast shall follow it. On that day, men's hearts shall tremble: their looks shall be cast down. Verily it will be but one sounding of the trumpet, and behold, they shall appear alive on the face of the earth. Ch. lxxix. p. 480.

They will ask thee concerning the last hour,

When will be the fixed time thereof?

BIBLE.

knoweth no man; no, not the angels of heaven; but my Father only. St. Matth. xxiv. 36

The sun shall be darkened, — and the stars shall fall from heaven. Ib. 29.

And as it were a great mountain was cast into the sea:

And the third part of the sea became blood. Rev. viii. 8. cf. vi. 14.

And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God:

And the books were opened. Ib. xx. 12.

The first heaven and the first earth were passed away. Ib. xxi. 1.

And they were judged every man according to their works. Ib. xx. 13.

He saw the heavens opened (marg. read. *cloven* or *rent*). * St. Mark, i. 10.

And the third part of the stars — was smitten. Rev. viii. 12.

And there fell a great star

KORAN.

By what means canst thou give any information of the same?

Unto thy Lord belongeth the knowledge thereof. Ch. lxxix. p. 481.

When the sun shall be folded up; and when the stars shall fall;

And when the mountains shall be made to pass away;

And when the seas shall boil;

And when the souls shall be joined again to their bodies;

And when the books shall be laid open;

And when the heaven shall be removed; —

Every soul shall know what it hath wrought. Ch. lxxxix. ad init.

When the heaven shall be cloven in sunder;

And when the stars shall be scattered;

And when the seas shall be

BIBLE.

from heaven upon the rivers,
and upon the fountains of
waters. Rev. viii. 10.

And death and hell (marg.
the grave) delivered up the
dead which were in them.
Ib. xx. 13.

These ought ye to have
done, and not to leave the
other undone. St. Matth.
xxiii. 23.

In thy presence is fulness of
joy :

At thy right hand, there are
pleasures for evermore.
Ps. xvi. 11.

KORAN.

suffered to join their
waters ;

And when the graves shall
be turned upside down :

Every soul shall know,
What it hath committed ;
And what it hath omitted.*
Ch. lxxxii. ad init.

Those who approach near
unto God, are witnesses
thereto.

Thou shalt see in their faces
the brightness of joy.
Ch. lxxxiii. p. 487.

When the heaven shalt be
rent in sunder ;
And shall obey its Lord,
and shall be capable
thereof :

And when the earth shall be
stretched out ;

And shall cast forth that
which is therein, and
shall remain empty ;

And shall obey its Lord,
and shall be capable
thereof :

Then we which are alive O man, verily labouring, thou

* Like our venerable Church Liturgy, the Koran here preserves the
important scriptural classification of sins.

BIBLE.

and remain, shall — meet the
Lord in the air. 1 Thess. iv. 17.

Prepare to meet thy God, O
Israel ! Amos, iv. 12.

God made the world,
and all things therein ;
And hath made, of one blood
all nations of men ;

And hath determined the
times before appointed ;
And the bounds of their ha-
bitation. † Acts, xvii.
24. 26.

These both were cast alive
into a lake of fire, burning
with brimstone. Rev. xix.
20.

KORAN.

labourest to meet thy
Lord ;

And thou shalt meet him.
Ch. lxxxiv. ad init. *

Praise the name of thy Lord,
the most High :

Who hath created, and com-
pletely formed his crea-
tures ;

And who determineth them
to various ends ;

And directeth them to at-
tain the same. † Ch.
lxxxvii. ad init.

Who shall be cast to be
broiled in the greater
fire of hell ;

Wherein he shall not die,
neither shall he live. ‡
Ib. p. 192.

* It has been thought right to exemplify very fully the coincidences of the Koran with the Bible, on the subjects of the Last Day ; the resurrection ; and the general judgment. The spurious like the genuine revelation, closes, it will be observed, with continual references to these awful topics : upon each of which Mahomet treats in the very language of Scripture, especially of the Apocalypse, which *seems* to have been plagiarized from, with studied and most minute attention.

† In the doctrine of a *Providence*, laid down in these contexts, there is a sensible resemblance, on the part of the Koran, to the teaching of Saint Paul, at Athens. On this vital article of belief, the creed of Mahometanism appears never to have degenerated : too many in the Christian world might well be put to shame, by the devout practical sense which Mahometans generally entertain, of the control and direction exercised by Almighty God, over and throughout his own world.

‡ By the former line of this couplet, disgust is awakened rather than terror : the conception in the second is awfully striking.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

The just shall live by his
faith. Hab. ii. 4. cf.
Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11.
Heb. x. 38.

Now hath he attained felicity,
who is purified by faith;

I have remembered thy name,
O Lord, in the night. * Ps.
cxix. 55.

And who remembereth the
name of his Lord, and
prayeth. *

Men of the world — have
their portion in this life.
Ps. xvii. 14.

But ye prefer this present
life :

Ye have in heaven a better,
and an enduring sub-
stance. Heb. x. 34.

Yet the life to come is bet-
ter, and more durable. †

Verily this is written in the
ancient books ;

The books of ABRAHAM and
MOSES. ‡ Ch. lxxxvii.
ad fin. p. 493.

For if we sin wilfully, after
that we have received the
knowledge of the truth — of
how much sorer punishment,
&c. Heb. x. 26—29. cf.
2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.

But whoever shall turn back,
and disbelieve,
God shall punish him with
the greater punishment
of the life to come. Ch.
lxxxviii. p. 494.

* This coincidence bears every appearance of studied imitation : the
night being the great Mahometan as well as the favourite Jewish season
of *prayer* : So Ali : “ *The night-watch* is the spring-time of the friends of
God ;” manifestly after another Psalm : —

“ I remember thee upon my bed ;
And meditate on thee in *the night-watches*.” Ps. lxxiii. 6.

† “ Riches and honour are with me,
Durable riches and righteousness.” Prov. viii. 8.

‡ According to Mahometan tradition, new written laws, or dispensations,
were successively imparted to mankind, by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses,
Jesus, and Mahomet. To lower the authority of the Jewish and Christian
Scriptures, was the palpable object of this figment : thus we find the Koran
confounding the books of *Moses*, with those of *Abraham* !

BIBLE.

Behold, happy is the man
whom God correcteth :
Therefore despise not thou
the chastening of the
Almighty. Job, v. 17.
My son, despise not thou the
chastening of the Lord ;
Nor faint when thou art re-
buked of him :
For whom the Lord loveth
he chasteneth. Heb. xii.
5, 6. cf. Prov. iii. 11, 12.
In thee have they set light
by father and mother ;
In the midst of thee have
they dealt by oppression
with the stranger ;
In thee have they vexed the
fatherless and the wi-
dow. Ezek. xxii. 7. cf.
Mal. iii. 5.
Set your affection on things
above ;
Not on things on the earth.
Col. iii. 2.

His Lord said unto him,
Well done thou good and
faithful servant ; thou hast
been faithful over a few
things, I will make thee ruler
over many things : enter thou
into the joy of thy Lord.
St. Matth. xxv. 21.

Enter ye in at the strait

KORAN.

Moreover man, *when his
Lord trieth him by prosperity,*
and honoureth him, and is
bounteous unto him, saith,
My Lord honoureth me :
*but when he proveth him by
afflictions,* and withholdeth
his provisions from him, he
saith, My Lord despiseth
me. *By no means.*

But ye honour not the or-
phan ;

Neither do ye excite one
another to feed the poor ;

And ye devour the inherit-
ance of the weak, with
undistinguishing greed-
iness ;

And ye love riches, with
much affection.

By no means should ye do
thus. Ch. lxxxix. p. 496.

O thou soul ! which art at
rest, return unto thy
Lord ;

Well pleased with thy re-
ward, and well pleasing
unto God :

Enter among my servants :
and enter my paradise.
Ib. ad fin.

Have we not — shown him

BIBLE.

gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction: — strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life; and few there be that find it. St. Matth. vii. 13, 14. cf. 24—27.

I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: — I was a stranger, and ye took me in: — I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Ib. xxv. 35, 36.

Let us hold fast the profession of our faith, without wavering. And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works: — exhorting one another. Heb. x. 23, 24. cf. Eph. vi. 18. I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness. Isaiah, xli. 10. cf. Col. iii. 1.

Lo, this only have I found:

That God hath made man upright:

But they have sought out many inventions.* Eccl. vii. 29.

KORAN.

the two highways, of good and evil? Yet he attempteth not the cliff. What shall make thee to understand what the cliff is?

It is, to free the captive; or to feed, in the day of famine, the orphan who is of kin; or the poor man, who lieth on the ground.

Whoso doeth this; and is one of those who believe, and recommend perseverance unto each other, and recommend mercy unto each other; these shall be the companions of the right hand. Ch. xc.

Verily, we created man of a most excellent fabric: Afterwards we rendered him the vilest of the vile.* Ch. xcvi.

* The connection of the sentiment in these contexts seems strongly indicative of *direct* plagiarism by Mahomet, from the passage of Ecclesiastes.

BIBLE.

The hour is coming,
In the which all that are in
the graves shall come
forth. St. John, v. 28,
29.

Until the Lord come, who
both will bring to light the
hidden things of darkness;
and will make manifest the
counsels of the hearts. 1 Cor.
iv. 5.

Whoso privily slandereth his
neighbour, him will I
cut off. Ps. ci. 5.

Go to now, ye rich men, weep
and howl for your mi-
series that shall come
upon you.

Ye have heaped treasure to-
gether for the last days.
St. James, v. 13. cf.
Rom. ii. 5.

Wo unto you, Scribes
and Pharisees, hypocrites,
for ye devour widows' houses,
and, for a pretence, make
long prayer. St. Matth. xxiii.
14.

KORAN.

Doth he not know, therefore,
When that which is in the
graves shall be taken
forth ;

And that which is in men's
breasts shall be brought
to light ;

That their Lord will, on that
day, be fully informed
concerning them? Ch. c.

Wo unto every slanderer,
and backbiter :

Who heapeth up riches ; and
prepareth the same for
the time to come.

He thinketh that his riches
will render him im-
mortal.

What thinkest thou of him,
who denieth the future
judgment as a falsehood?

It is he, who pusheth away
the orphan ;

And stirreth not up others
to feed the poor.

Wo be to those who pray,
and who are negligent
at their prayer :

Who play the hypocrites ;
and deny necessities to
the needy. Ch. cvii.

BIBLE.

Lest Satan should get an advantage of us; for we are not ignorant of his devices. 2 Cor. ii. 11.

If God peradventure will give them repentance:—and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil. 2 Tim. ii. 25, 26. cf. Rev. xx. 7—10.

KORAN.

Say, I fly for refuge, unto the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men;

That He may deliver me from the mischief of the whisperer who slyly withdraweth; who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men. Ch. cxiv.

In the foregoing tables of parallel passages, it has been by no means our object, to exhaust the analogy between the pseudo-bible of Mahometanism, and the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. By this copious selection of coincidences, more or less striking, it has rather been designed to prepare the materials for a more correct and definite estimate than seems yet to have been formed, of the actual debt of the Koran to the sacred volumes of the Old and New Testament. For hence, on an attentive review of the examples, it will appear manifest, that the plagiarisms of the Koran are not limited to the leading facts and narratives of the Bible; but extend to many of its minuter peculiarities: to its modes of thought, its figures of speech, and even to its very moulds of expression.¹

The palpable obligations of this spurious re-

velation to Holy Writ, and the real or supposed incompetence of its nominal fabricator, have very naturally given birth to inquiries into the history of its composition. Preceding writers on Mahometanism seem pretty generally to have adopted the notion entertained by the eastern Christians, that, in the construction of his Koran, Mahomet was assisted by a renegade Jew, and an apostate monk. But the assertions advanced on this head have never been authenticated by proofs ; and the whole story wears but too much the air of an hypothesis adapted to the difficulties of the case. At the same time, even were the popular belief in question ascertained to be fact, this might indeed materially diminish, but still would not do away, the difficulties presented by the phenomena of the Koran. For, altogether independently of its plagiarisms from our Scriptures, this pretended revelation assuredly contains passages, as much superior to any remains, whether Jewish or Christian, of the literature of the seventh century, as they are utterly inferior to its imitations of that sacred volume, which the Koran blasphemously assumes to resemble and supplant. Upon the origin of the Koran, therefore, and the true history of its composition, the present writer, instructed by the failure of others, does not purpose to hazard any solution

of his own. That Mahomet was really its chief author and contriver, (an inference suggested by the whole internal evidence,) we must indeed, with Mr. Sale, consider a matter beyond dispute. But how far Mahomet was, or was not, acquainted with our sacred volume, must probably remain an unsolved problem to the end of time.

When, however, we contemplate the phenomena in their application to the present argument, and to the case of Mahometanism regarded in its providential aspect, the question *how* the Koran came by its spurious likeness to the Scriptures of both Testaments, becomes comparatively of little moment. That it *does* contain large and various materials, drawn from these sacred volumes, including obligations to every part of them from the book of Genesis to that of Revelation, is undeniable: and this one undoubted fact may well suffice for our object; since it implies the establishment of a matter-of-fact relation between the false revelation and the true, in the character of their respective written laws, perfectly harmonizing with the kind, and the degree of correspondence, which the arch-heresy of Mahomet maintains with Judaism and Christianity, in so many particulars beside.

In our analysis of its spurious resemblance to the books of the Law and Gospel, and the

consequent exposure of those plagiarisms and imitations, which constitute the sum of that resemblance, the Koran has been hitherto necessarily regarded on the favourable side. For, however disguised and desecrated, by the perversions of ignorance, or by the arts of imposture, it was still a thing impossible, that the words of inspired wisdom could have been thus largely copied after, without preserving, and betraying, some marks and tokens of their divine original. It is not until we shall have thoroughly sifted the gold from the dross, the mutilated fragments of divine truth, from the refuse mass in which they lie buried and embedded, that the impious fabricator of this lying revelation can stand forth discovered to the light; bearing the stamp of antichrist upon his forehead !

But such an analysis of the text and structure of the Koran as must be required from him, who should undertake fully to investigate and expose its *demerits*, would far exceed the limits prescribed by an inquiry like the present : were such an analysis even yet more suitable than it is, to the design proposed in this section ; or had it not been rendered altogether unnecessary, by the labours of so many eminent Christian writers. By these champions of truth ample justice has been already rendered to the pseudo-bible of

Mahometanism, considered on its dark side : its glaring absurdities ; its palpable contradictions ; its strange and monstrous admixtures of truth and error ; together with its numberless plagiarisms from the volumes of Rabbinical Judaism, and of heretical Christianity ; — all have been uncloaked, — all have been made familiar to the whole Christian world.

Since in the present case, however, a necessity has arisen of comparing, to so large an extent, this pretended revelation with the Holy Bible ; and of thus allowing it, divested of its more hideous and hateful deformities, to shine so long by the borrowed light of Scripture* ;—something assuredly is demanded in the way of contrast. Hitherto we have listened to the Arabian anti-christ, speaking in a language stolen from inspiration : the time seems, therefore, come, that we should hear him, however briefly, speaking in *his own*.

But before we transcribe a few specimens from those parts of the Koran, which can alone make the slightest pretensions to originality, we would bespeak attention to one grand characteristic of this spurious volume, as a whole : namely, that where its author most closely follows, and where

* “ The Koran shines indeed with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures ; but it has great beauties, and the Mussulmans will not be convinced that they are borrowed.” Sir William Jones. See *Asiat. Research*. vol i. p. 374.

he most widely departs from, Scripture, he still equally maintains his proper character, as the antichrist of the East ; *imitation of*, and *opposition to*, the true word of God, being alike essential to constitute a false, or antichristian revelation.

Among the marks of falsehood with which the Koran every where abounds, none are more conspicuous than the details which enter into its descriptions of heaven and of hell ; and the tedious minuteness with which it profanely affects to disclose the secrets of the invisible world. Upon the irreconcilable contrast which here subsists between this false revelation and the true, nothing needs be said ; for nothing can be added to the exemplary censure inflicted by preceding writers on the Koran and its compiler. It is enough that we leave it simply with the reader to compare, with his recollections of the silence or reserve of Scripture upon those awful subjects, the following examples of the terms in which the Koran is used to dilate upon the pains of hell * : —

* It has been remarked to the author by a revered friend, that probably the best method of forming a judgment of Mahomet's descriptions of hell, would be by a comparison of them with the descriptions in the " Inferno " of Dante. The observation is most just : for it is only by comparing the Koran with a merely human composition like itself, that we can estimate either the genius, or the skill, of its fabricator. As a test of his inventive powers, the comparison would not be unfavourable to Mahomet ; while the equally monstrous figments of the Arabian false prophet, and of the Italian poet, must teach the utter vanity of all human efforts to depict the inscrutable mysteries of futurity.

“ Verily those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in hell-fire; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the sharper torment.” Sale’s Koran, chap. iv. p. 105.

“ They who are delivered over to perdition, shall have boiling water to drink,” &c. Ib. ch. vi. p. 167.

“ And thou shalt see the wicked, on that day, bound together in fetters: their inner garments shall be of pitch; and fire shall cover their faces.” Ib. ch. xiv. ad fin.

“ We have surely prepared for the unjust, hell-fire; the flame and smoke whereof shall surround them like a pavilion: and if they beg relief, they shall be relieved with water like molten brass*, which shall scald their faces: O how miserable a potion! and how unhappy a couch! Ib. ch. xviii. p. 117.

* The pains of hell are studiously brought home in the Koran, by images likely to make a lively impression on the Bedoweens of the desert: thus ch. lvi. p. 415. “ And the companions of the left-hand shall dwell amidst burning winds, and scalding water, and a black smoke, neither cool nor agreeable.” Again: “ They shall be cast into scorching fire to be broiled: they shall be given to drink of a boiling fountain: they shall have no food but of dry thorns and thistles; which shall not fatten, neither shall they satisfy hunger.” Ch. lxxxviii. ad init. The artful impostor accumulates the horrors of the Arabian desert: the fierce simoom, with its visionary waters, and its burning sands. See Thalaba, B. iv. p. 189. n.

— “ Sure, through that green meadow flows
The living stream! and lo! their famish’d beast
Sees the restoring sight!
Hope gives his feeble limbs a sudden strength,
He hurries on! — The herbs so fair to eye
Were Senna, and the Gentian’s blossom blue,
And kindred plants, that with unwatered root
Fed in the burning sand, whose bitter leaves
Even frantic famine loathed!” Ib. p. 186.

“ And they who believe not, shall have garments of fire fitted unto them : boiling water shall be poured on their heads ; their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and also their skins ; and they shall be beaten with maces of iron. So often as they shall endeavour to get out of hell, they shall be dragged back into the same ; and their tormentor shall say unto them, Taste ye the pain of burning ! ” Sale’s Koran, ch. xxii. p. 169.

“ We have prepared for him who shall reject the belief of the hour of judgment, burning fire : *when it shall see them from a distant place, they shall hear it furiously raging and roaring !* ” Ch. xxv. p. 202.

The kind of roar which should thus issue from the flames of the bottomless pit, might have been a question likely enough to arise among the Mahometan commentators. But Mahomet has not left it to the decision of these expositors ; chusing rather to dispose of it himself in a subsequent chapter : — “ And for those who believe not in their Lord, is also prepared the torment of hell ; an ill journey shall it be thither. When they shall be thrown thereinto, *they shall hear it bray like an ass ;* and it shall boil and almost burst for fury !!! ” Ch. lvii. p. 450.

Indeed few of these descriptions are simply terrible : in many of them, on the contrary, there is a strange, and even a ludicrous mixture, of the terrible and the grotesque. For example :—

“Whoever shall withdraw from the admonition of the Merciful, we will chain a devil unto him; and he shall be his inseparable companion: — until, when he shall appear before us at the last day, he shall say unto the devil, Would that between me and thee there was the distance of the east from the west! O how wretched a companion art thou!” Ch. xliii. p. 358.

“It shall be said unto them, Go ye to the punishment which ye denied as a falsehood: go ye into the shadow of the smoke of hell, which shall ascend in three columns, and shall not shade you from the heat, neither shall it be of service against the flame: *but it shall cast forth sparks as big as towers, resembling yellow camels in colour.*” Ch. lxxvii. p. 477.

But the terrors of the flame, which was to bray like an ass, and to look like a camel, must yield the palm to the descriptions of the tree Al Zakkum, and of the other nutriments, which are to constitute the regimen of the unbelievers, in a future state:—

“The tree of Al Zakkum is a tree which issueth from the bottom of hell: the fruit thereof resembleth the heads of devils; and the damned shall eat of the same, and shall fill their bellies therewith; and there shall be given them thereon, a mixture of filthy and boiling water to drink; afterwards shall they return into hell.” Ch. xxxvii. pp. 310, 311.

“Verily the fruit of the tree Al Zakkum shall be the food of the impious: as the dregs of oil shall it boil in the bellies of the damned; like the boiling of the hottest

water. And it shall be said to the tormentors, Take him, and drag him into the midst of hell; and pour on his head the torture of boiling water, saying, Taste this !” Ch. xlv. p. 366.

“ Then ye, O men, who have erred, and denied the resurrection as a falsehood, shall surely eat of the fruit of the tree of Al Zakkum, and shall fill your bellies therewith: and ye shall drink thereon, boiling water; and ye shall drink, as a thirsty camel drinketh. * This shall be their entertainment on the day of judgment !” Ch. lvi. p. 415.

If these specimens fail to silence and put to shame the sceptical admirers and apologists of Mahomet and his Koran, assuredly no evidence will content them: the spirit which could lead men deliberately to peruse passages like these, and then deliberately to set up Mahometanism *against* the Gospel revelation, must have other grounds for its enmity to Christianity, than the dictates of reason, or of good taste. Did moral delicacy, however, permit, examples still more horrible and loathsome are not wanting, wherewith to expose as they deserve, the insidious panegyrics of modern infidelity. With such examples, from respect alike to his readers and to himself, the author must decline to stain these pages.

From this revolting sample of the language and spirit of the Koran, wherever it affects ori-

* See note ante, p. 79.

ginality, wherever it deserts for a moment the beaten path of scriptural plagiarism and imitation, we may next turn, for a similar result, to specimens of a somewhat different class : to passages of the Koran, in which the language of Scripture is not copied, but parodied ; is not imitated, but caricatured : in which the sublime figures, and matchless imagery, of the Old and New Testaments are introduced only to be degraded, by being applied, not in a spiritual, but in their *literal* acceptation.

Who, for example, can read without emotion that awful and affecting passage of the Apostle : “ Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you ! Your riches are corrupted ; and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered ; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days ! ” * But how is this sublime imagery travestied in the Koran ? The forced and frigid parody needs not a word of comment ; and shall be left to speak for itself : — “ But unto those who treasure up gold and silver, and employ it not for the

* St. James, v. 1—3. For a commentary on this passage, see “ Sacred literature,” pp. 257—268.

advancement of God's true religion, denounce a grievous punishment. On the day of judgment, *their treasures shall be intensely heated, in the fire of hell ; and their foreheads, and their sides, and their backs, shall be stigmatized* therewith. And their tormentors shall say, This is what ye have treasured up for your souls ; taste, therefore, that which ye have treasured up !” Ch. ix. p. 244.

Again : what more admirable vehicle for the powerful reasonings of Saint Paul, than the figurative language in the twelfth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians? where the Apostle illustrates the mutual relations and dependencies of the members of Christ's church, from the mutual relations and dependencies subsisting between the several parts or members of the same body. In this fine context, we have the human limbs personified ; and introduced, in the way of figure, as addressing one another : “ If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee : nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.” What the great Apostle of the Gentiles

thus spake in a figure, the pseudo-apostle of Arabia has distorted into a monstrous reality, in the following passage of his Koran : “ And warn them of that day, on which the enemies of God shall be gathered together unto hell-fire, and shall march in distinct bands : until when they shall arrive thereat, *their ears*, and *their eyes*, and *their skins*, shall bear witness against them of that which they shall have wrought. And they shall say *unto their skins*, Wherefore do ye bear witness against us? They [their skins!] shall answer, *God hath caused us to speak*, who giveth speech unto all things : He created you the first time ; and unto him are ye returned. Ye did not hide yourselves, while ye sinned, so that your ears, and your eyes, and your skins, could not bear witness against you : but ye thought that God was ignorant of many things which ye did. This was your opinion, which ye imagined of your Lord : it hath ruined you ; and ye are become lost people !!! ” Ch. lxii. pp. 345, 346.

After parodies like these, the reader may be prepared to peruse without surprise, even such a maxim as the following ; which seems to be in imitation of the warning, in the eleventh chapter of first Corinthians, against the abuse and profanation of the Eucharist : “ O true believers !

come not to prayers when ye are drunk : *until ye understand what ye say !*" Ch. iv. p. 102.

And thus, whatever may have been its secret history, a strict scrutiny of its text will be sure to present the Koran in its only proper character : for, between plagiarisms from Scripture on the one hand, and from Rabbinical Judaism and heretical Christianity on the other, together with the extravagant inventions which almost everywhere disgrace its attempts at originality, its title to rank as the antichristian opponent of the written word of God stands in every sense established.

The task of resisting and exposing the lying pretensions of this pseudo-bible, may, however, and assuredly ought to be discharged by the Christian advocate, without refusing common justice to such merits as it can fairly claim as its own. Amidst the multitude and heinousness of the defects of such a volume, it was perhaps only natural, that the generality of controversial writers should overlook, or even depreciate, some few original beauties both of expression and of thought. The notion that the Koran is wholly destitute of such beauties, is certainly a very mistaken one : nor has justice yet been done either to the character of those beauties, or to the extent in which they obtain. In the present section we have already sufficiently exemplified

its scriptural plagiarisms and perversions : it remains to direct attention to specimens of imitation of a higher order ; to passages in which, although not justly chargeable as plagiarisms, the sentiment, the manner, the very imagery of Scripture, have been apparently, and not unsuccessfully, copied.

In the following noble passage, Mahomet would seem to have had in his eye our Lord's sublime description, in the twenty-fifth chapter of Saint Matthew, of the final entrance of the righteous into the joy of their Lord : " And Paradise shall be brought near unto the pious ; and it shall be said unto them, This is what ye have been promised ; — every one who turned himself unto God, and kept his commandments ; who feared the Merciful in secret, and came unto him with a converted heart ; enter the same in peace : this is the day of eternity ! " Ch. l. p. 393.

The comparison of human life to the evanescent growth and decay of the plants and flowers of the field, is a figure of familiar recurrence in the Scriptures of both Testaments. The reader will probably be reminded of more than one example of the scriptural use of this simile, by the manner in which it is thus beautifully introduced in the Koran : " Know that this

present life is only a toy, and a vain amusement : and worldly pomp, and the affectation of glory among you, and the multiplying of riches and children, are as the plants nourished by the rain, the springing up whereof delighteth the husbandmen ; afterwards they wither, so that thou seest the same turn yellow, and at length they become dry stubble." Ch. lvii. p. 420.

The reader may not disrelish the insertion of one or two illustrations of equal beauty, in the same strain : —

As to the unbelievers, their works are like a vapour in a plain, which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water ; until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be nothing : but he findeth God with him, and He will fully pay him his account ! Ch. xxiv. p. 195.

Another, and still happier specimen of the simile, plainly seems to have been suggested by images in our Lord's parables ; especially in that of the Sower, which, at an humble distance, it resembles, though without any marks of *direct* imitation : —

The likeness of such a one [the uncharitable], is as a
 flint covered with earth,
 On which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard.
 And the likeness of those who lay out their substance
 From a desire to please God,
 And for an establishment for their souls,

Is as a garden on a hill,
On which a violent rain falleth,
And it bringeth forth its fruits two-fold :
And if a violent rain falleth not on it,
Yet the dew falleth thereon. Ch. ii. p. 50.

The sublimity of the passage in which Mahomet describes the divine attributes has been often noticed and acknowledged : but there are instances not so commonly adverted to, in which the Koran reaches the *moral* sublime. It is impossible, for example, to consider, without being deeply impressed by the sublime conception, a passage from the ninth chapter : —

The earth became too strait for them, notwithstanding
its spaciousness ;
And their souls became straitened within them :
And they considered that there was no refuge from God,
Otherwise than by having recourse to him.

The description, in the thirteenth chapter, of the obedience of the elements to the will of God, is very fine :

It is He who causeth the lightning to appear unto you,
To strike fear, and to raise hope ;
And who formeth the pregnant clouds : —
The thunder celebrateth his praise ! P. 56.

A specimen of the epanodos in the thirty-

fifth chapter is equally striking; and much resembles the peculiar manner of Scripture composition:—

The blind and the seeing shall not be held equal :

Neither darkness and light ;

Nor the cool shade, and the scorching wind :

Neither shall the living and the dead be held equal.

P. 297.

Another magnificent passage, descriptive of the Divine Omniscience, almost reminds us of the book of Job :—

With God are the keys of the secret things ;

None knoweth them besides himself :

He knoweth that which is on the dry land ;

And [he knoweth that which is] in the sea :

There falleth no leaf, but He knoweth it ;

Neither is there a single grain, in the dark parts of the
earth,

Neither a green thing, nor a dry thing,

But it is written in the perspicuous book.” Ch. vi. p. 166.

Insulated passages like those last quoted, would, however, it is almost needless to add, convey no correct idea of any given context of the Koran : in this strange medley, the sublime is always so nearly allied to the bombastic, the pathetic to the ludicrous, the terrible to the absurd, that each chapter, each page, almost each paragraph,

is sure to give rise to emotions the most opposite and incongruous. Respect, contempt, admiration, disgust, abhorrence, so rapidly succeed each other in the perusal, as to leave absolutely no fixed or uniform impression on the mind.

We may close our extracts, not unappropriately, with a specimen of the extravagance into which the Koran falls, in the vain attempt to imitate and emulate the most remarkable hyperbole in Scripture, the concluding verse of the Gospel of Saint John; where the beloved disciple and evangelist, as though the ordinary terms of language must sink and fail under the majesty of his subject, thus describes by a figure, the wonderful works of Christ: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written."

With its frigid and ridiculous parody on this lofty figure of speech, we shall now take our leave of the Koran: "Say, If the sea were ink, to write the words of my Lord, verily the sea would fail, before the words of my Lord would fail; although we added another sea like unto it, as a farther supply!!" Ch. xviii. ad fin.

On the most summary retrospect of the results obtained by our analysis, in the present

section, of the contents and structure of the Koran, the correspondence of those results with the foundational principle of our general argument may be easily and clearly pointed out. For Mahometanism itself being “the Ishmael of Christianity,” and Mahomet the antichristian imitator and opponent of the Divine Founder of our faith, it became essential to the *providential* character and position of this great arch-heresy, that the predicted signs of antichrist should legibly appear, in every part and feature of its written law : that its pseudo-bible should contain at once the most striking resemblances, and the most startling contrasts, to the sacred volumes of the Law and Gospel ; to which it stands, at the same time, spuriously related and opposed. Nor can the Christian reader be affected either with surprise, or regret, in contemplating its brightest specimens of scriptural plagiarism or imitation ; since these resemblances only rank among the signs *propheied* of antichrist ; and serve towards the fulfilment of that awful parting prediction of our Lord to his disciples :—“For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders ; insomuch that, if it were possible, THEY SHALL DECEIVE THE VERY ELECT.” *

* That such was the effect, or pretended effect, of the primitive delivery of the Koran, we find distinctly alleged by Mahomet himself, in the fol-

lowing most remarkable passage of his lying revelation: —“Thou shalt surely find those to be *the most inclinable* to entertain friendship with the true believers, who say, *We are Christians*. This cometh to pass, because there are *priests and monks* among them; and because they are not elated with pride: *And when they hear that which hath been sent down unto the Apostle read unto them, thou shalt see their eyes overflow with tears, because of the truth which they perceive therein*; saying, O Lord! we believe; *write us down, therefore, with those who bear witness to the truth.*” Ch. v. pp. 147, 148. Be the matter asserted true or false, this assuredly is none other than the voice of Satan, speaking by the mouth of a “false apostle;” and, as Saint Paul describes him (2 Cor. xi. 14.), transforming himself into “an angel of light.” But Christian writers themselves are compelled, to admit the melancholy truth of the allegation; to concede the fact, that “*Ingens mortalium turba, non solum ethnicorum qui adhuc supersunt, sed Judæorum, Christianorum, et ipsorum qui in religionis claustris degunt, ad Mahumetismum dilabitur.*” Vivaldus, ap. Reland. Præfat.

SECTION IX.

ANALOGY OF MAHOMETANISM WITH JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY, IN ITS SECTS, AND REPUTED HERESIES.

IN every preceding branch of the parallel, which the Mahometan superstition maintains with the Jewish and Christian systems, we have had occasion to observe, that the correspondence is usually one, not merely of fortuitous occurrence, but of designed and studious imitation. This general character of the resemblances preserved, or affected, by the false revelation to the true, is peculiarly applicable to the part of our subject now to be considered; the spurious analogy, namely, of Mahometanism to Judaism and Christianity, in the history, the subdivisions, and even the numerical classification, of its sects.

The notion of a pre-ordained relation between the three creeds, in this important feature of the correspondence, is not left to be gathered only from a comparison of particulars; it is formally advanced and vindicated by Mahometan tradition. According to this tradition, as stated by Shahrestani, the Jews are represented to be

divided into *seventy-one*, the Christians into *seventy-two*, and the Mussulmans into *seventy-three* sects ; these numbers having a reference to the comparative merits of the religions ; and that of seventy-three, if we chuse to credit the doctors, having been foretold by no less authority than that of Mahomet himself, as the number of classes or sects under which his followers should be eventually reduced. * The correctness of the enumerations, and the authority of the pretended prediction, it must rest with those champions of Islamism to defend. Our only concern is with the fact, that the comparison in question was originally instituted by Mahometans themselves : a consideration so far valuable, that it corroborates, on *their* showing, the proof submitted in these pages, respecting the existence, throughout, of a known and acknowledged analogy between the dispensations of the Law and Gospel, and the spurious counterfeit of both. Whatever may have been the motives, and whatever the misrepresentations, of the Arabian antichrist or his disciples, every recognition, on their part, of such an analogy, will have a material share in

* Pocock. Specim. pp. 213, 214. The Mahometans often thus point out the relation of the three systems: indeed they never lose sight of the real or supposed analogy between them. For the Mahometan sects styled *Ramists*, cf. Pocock. ut supr. pp. 25, 293. : for those entitled *Radicals*, ib. pp. 17—25. and p. 212.

confirming the belief of its providential origin : since it is essential to the constitution of an antichristian scheme, both that there should be resemblances to the religions of Christ and of Moses, and that those resemblances should repeatedly be the offspring of design.

But the existence of a real and ascertained parallel between Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, in the history of their respective sects, does not depend on the frail authority of Mahometan tradition : it may be established beyond controversy, by a short comparative view of the principal subdivisions, under which the component members of each of the three creeds became successively distributed. We have elsewhere examined the parallel doctrines by which the religion of Mahomet maintains a spurious correspondence with the Jewish and Christian revelations* : we come now to the further elucidation of the doctrinal parallel, by a comparison of those great religious parties within the antagonist systems, which were the parents, or the offspring, of their doctrinal disputations.

In the Jewish church, all lesser denominations seem to have been comparatively merged and lost in the two opposed sects of *the Pharisees* and *the Sadducees* : sects which differed indeed

* See sect. vi.

from one another upon the most important questions of belief; but whose bitter religious dissensions appear all to have had their root in the one ground of debate; in the controversy, which had place among the Jews of those days, respecting the authority of tradition: by the sect of the Pharisees, not only was “the tradition of the fathers” upheld, as an authoritative interpreter of the Mosaic law, but, as a rule of faith co-ordinate in authority with the inspired books of Moses: the Sadducees, on the contrary, rejected and denied tradition altogether; and owned no authoritative expositor of the Pentateuch, or of the other Scriptures; but made those sacred books the cloak only and sanction of their own impious errors, while they speciously pretended to understand and interpret them, strictly in their literal sense.

After the example of the ancient Jewish church, the Christian world also, in its turn, became eventually split into two great divisions, the adherents of the church of Rome, and the followers of the Reformation, — upon the same fundamental question, the authority of tradition: the Romanists, like the Pharisees of old, holding the tradition of the church to be of at least co-ordinate authority with Scripture; the reformed, in too many instances, concurring with the rival

Hebrew sect, in disowning the consent of antiquity as of any weight or authority, however secondary and subordinate. *

Now, in the hostile parties to which this very subject of controversy gave birth in the Mahometan superstition, we plainly discern a correspondence with the history of Judaism and Christianity, scarcely less exact, than that which, in this particular, those dispensations maintain between themselves. For the question touching the authority of the law of tradition, as contradistinguished from that of God's written word, which, in the Jews' religion, gave rise to the opposed sects of Pharisees and Sadducees ; and which, in western Christendom, formed the grand wall of partition between the church of Rome and the reformed churches ; under the Mahometan apostasy, produced a strictly parallel division of parties into *the Sonnites*, the advocates of the *Sonnat*, or reputed traditions of Mahomet, as the authoritative expositor of the Koran ; and *the Shiites*, rejecters of all traditional law, and maintainers of the strict letter of the Koran as the only legitimate guide in matters of faith.

* On the subject of tradition, as on other subjects, the church of England alone has preserved the true medium. See the Appendix to Bishop Jebb's Sermons : — consult, also, Bishop Kaye, *Eccl. Hist. &c.* Second edit. pp. 289—304.

† “ In name, as well as design, answering to the *Mishna* of the Jews.” Sale, P. D. p. 205.

This remarkable feature in the analogy between the Jewish and Christian churches, and the Mahometan superstition, subsists in a perfect form, and in its full vigour, at the present day : the Turks, or followers of Omar and his successors in the caliphate, answering to those nations of Christendom, who own the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs ; and the Persians, or sectaries of Ali, who deny the supremacy of the caliphs, coinciding no less appropriately with the several branches, both of the English, and of the continental, reformation. *

If we pursue this parallel still further, we may trace similar correspondencies between the histories of Christianity and of Mahometanism, on a yet more extended scale : for the grand original division of Christendom into the Greek and the Roman, the eastern and the western, churches, has its correlative schisms in the Mahometan world, in the great primitive division between Ali and Omar, the Imams and the Caliphs ; and, in later times, between their respective sectarists, the Persians and the Turks.

* “ *Les catholiques ne haïssent pas plus les protestans, que les traditionnaires, tels que les Ottomans, ne haïssent les sectateurs d'Ali.*” Oelsner, *Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* — Cf. De Marlès, *Hist. de la Dominat. des Arabes en Espagne*, tom. i. p. 243, &c. Also, Reland. *De Relig. Moham.* p. 139, 140.

In this comprehensive comparison of the legitimate and the spurious faith, — of the true religion springing from the seed of Isaac, and the lying superstition emanating from the stock of Ishmael, — the bishops of Rome, are to be seen standing in antithetical relation to the successors of Mahomet; and the patriarchs of Constantinople, to the Imams of Mecca: the orthodox Latins have their spurious representatives in the sect of the Sonnites; the heterodox Greeks theirs, in the rival sect of the Shiites: while both the origin, and the whole attending circumstances, of these several divisions, present the kind of mutual similitude, and preserve the degree of mutual correspondence, which may seem sanctioned and required on our fundamental principle of inquiry, — that of a pre-ordained and providential connection between Christianity and Mahometanism, as systems resulting, the former by promise, the latter by permission, from the covenants of God with Abraham, in favour of his two sons.

To obtain a compendious view of the general parallel between the Christian and the Mahometan sects, nothing more will be necessary than a concise classification, under their common subjects of difference, of those various bodies of separatists, to which similar questions of doctrine

or of discipline appear to have given birth, within the antagonist systems of the Gospel and the Koran. We have already pointed out the great analogous schisms which arose, upon the important questions of church-government, and the authority of tradition : for the further analogy of the two creeds, in the character of their related sects, we shall now proceed to compare the kindred parties which sprang up out of the corresponding disputations, upon the origin of evil ; the nature of the Godhead ; liberty and necessity ; the divine attributes ; faith and works, &c.

Upon reference to the sects and heresies within the Christian church, we find the ecclesiastical history of the first centuries largely occupied with accounts of the Manicheans, and of the various denominations of Gnostics, by whom primitive Christianity became but too soon divided and polluted. The doctrine of the two principles, or the question concerning the origin of evil, which is thought to have been first imported from Persia and the Magian superstition, was the undisputed origin of all those heretical sects ; and formed one common bond of connection between them. Now, when we turn for a parallel to the sects and reputed heresies of the Mahometan apostasy, we meet, in the Hashe-

mians and the Nodhamians, two branches of the great sect of the Motazalites, the exact counterparts of the early Manichean and Gnostic heresies; in other words, we find one and the same question, concerning the origin of evil, giving rise to strictly similar debates and divisions. Thus the sect of the Hashemians was so fearful of making God the author of evil, that it would not allow it to be affirmed of him, that he created the unbelievers: while the founder of that of the Nodhamians so studied to avert from the Supreme Being the authorship of evil, that he was for divesting God of all power and control over evil and rebellious actions.* The sect of the Jabarians, another class of Mahometan Gnostics, are charged, on the contrary, with maintaining the monstrous doctrine of the Oriental philosophy, which makes the Deity the sole author both of good and of evil: on the same question, that of the Mozdarians revived the worst ravings of the ancient Gnostics¹: and the Kadarians, (a denomination more ancient than that of Motazalites, and by many considered synonymous with it,) though understood in reality to hold the orthodox opinion, that evil and injustice must not be attributed to God, but to man, — are yet constantly accused, by all other

* Pocock. Spec. pp. 241, 242, &c.

Mahometan sects, of resembling the Magians, by the like introduction of the doctrine of two principles: light, or God, the author of good; and darkness, or the devil, the author of evil.* The slightest examination of the church-history of the first and second centuries, will suffice to prove the *identity* of character, between these several sects, and the first heretics.

In the history of the church, next in order to the Gnostic heresies, must be ranked the whole class of sects which grew up out of a separate debate; the great question respecting the nature of the Godhead, commonly termed the Arian controversy; which, beginning, in the fourth century, with bringing into question the divinity of Christ, advanced, in the end, to the denial of his pre-existence. In every successive age, the maintenance of the doctrine of the Divine Unity, in, what they pretend to call, its first purity, has been the pretext urged both by the Arian, and by the Unitarian, heretics, to justify their dissent from the catholic doctrine of the Trinity†, and their separation from the Catholic church.²

* For the history and opinions of these two sects, see Pocock. *Spec.* pp. 235—256. *passim*.

† For the preservation of the scriptural doctrine, under a divine direction, the catholic church owes much to the Athanasian creed; but for its well-guarded definitions and distinctions, the taint of heresy might have spread in secret, and silently leavened the whole mass.

Now, under the sway of the Mahometan apostasy, where the doctrine of the Divine Unity, as it was speciously miscalled, stood as the great essential article of belief, no room might seem to have been left, for the growth of debates or divisions, at all analogous to those which had place in Christendom, upon the mystery of the Godhead. But, however singular, the fact is an ascertained one, that Mahometanism also has had its controversy, touching the nature of the Deity; and that the discussions of the fourth century may be seen strangely revived and paralleled, in the disputations which obtained, between the Mussulmans styling themselves orthodox, and the sect of the Hayetians, or disciples of Ahmed Ebn Hayet, concerning the character and nature of Christ.* By this Mahometan doctor, our Lord was affirmed to be, not a mere man, but “the Eternal Word incarnate;” who “took upon him a true and real body; and will judge all creatures, in the life to come.” After the example of some Christian heretics, Ebn Hayet moreover asserted the doctrine of two gods, or creators of the world: the one eternal, namely, the Most High God; the other non-eternal, namely, the Messiah of the Christians.

* See Pocock. p. 221, &c.

Imperfect and contradictory as were the opinions broached by this Mussulman sectarist, his doctrine of the Godhead, as Mr. Sale has very justly remarked, does not materially differ from the Arian hypothesis ; while it is a manifest and decisive advance upon that advocated by the modern Socinians. Nor should that particular aspect of the subject here be lost sight of, which gives its peculiar value to this, and to every similar approximation to catholic truth : the tendency, I mean, of Mahometanism, to assimilate itself to Christianity, through the medium of its reputed heresies. Since, while the heresies of the Christian church uniformly originated in objections to what is mysterious in the scriptural doctrines, the sects accounted heretical among the Mahometans frequently discover, on the contrary, a marked disposition to recognize the great catholic mysteries : as it may affect the final conversion of the Mahometan world, the circumstance may well be regarded as of the deepest interest and importance ; for it argues, in the very nature of Mahometanism, an inherent reaching forth towards an eventual union with the universal church of Christ.

The great division in the Christian church, which, in the fourth century, resulted from the contest between Saint Athanasius and Arius,

and their respective followers, concerning the true doctrine of the Godhead, was succeeded, in the fifth, by a fresh distinction of parties : namely, those subdivisions which arose out of the no less memorable controversy between Saint Augustine and Pelagius, upon the questions of grace and predestination. In the course of this debate, the old philosophical doctrines of liberty and necessity, of fate and free-will, were largely drawn upon, to elucidate or obscure the sacred text ; and were revived and agitated, with an unprecedented zeal. It is scarcely needful to add, that, from the fifth century to the present day, these subjects have proved a fertile source of contending sects and schisms, within the church of Christ : the pride of the human understanding, in this, as in the former example, too generally preferring a curious scrutiny into the deep things of God, to an humble and reverential acquiescence in the mysterious truths of Scripture, according to the measure, in which unerring wisdom has seen fit to reveal them.

And here again, there obtains an unexpected correspondence between Christianity and Mahometanism. For, although the creed of Mahomet founded itself, from the first, upon the doctrine of a rigid fatalism, and has inflexibly preserved the tenet of absolute predestination, as

a primary fundamental, a controversy analogous to the Pelagian, nevertheless, sprang up in the Mahometan world; and gave birth, also, to a corresponding variety of theological distinctions and divisions. This parallel contention, and the parties to which it led, are distinctly traceable to the introduction of the Greek philosophy into the schools of the Saracens.* But, however the predestinarian controversy crept in, its analogy with that, which has prevailed in the Latin church, is most exact and striking. Thus, while the Jabarians, and other Mussulman sects denominated orthodox, maintained absolute and irrespective predestination, as the very key-stone of the faith, the great sect of the Kadarians, in all its branches, no less vehemently contended for the opposite belief: these Pelagians of Mahometanism wholly rejected the divine decrees; denied the doctrine of predestination; and, in common with the ancient Pelagians, and the ultra-Arminians of modern times, in the Christian church, asserted the unqualified free-agency of man. †³

* It is very remarkable, that the Mahometan synod of Bosra pronounced its union with the Greek philosophy, to be the only means of purifying their religion. This was the received belief among the Motazalites: and the system of doctrines compounded by them, was actually accused by the orthodox of being *Christianity*. See Oelsner, p. 149.

† Compare Pocock. pp. 235—256.

Next to those Mahometan sects, which owed their origin to the controversy concerning the divine nature and decrees, or rather as emanating from them, should be classed the parties within the chief Mussulman denominations, who agitated the scholastic debate respecting the attributes of the Deity. This disputation properly belongs to Mahometanism : for it would seem to have been first instituted in the Saracenic schools; and thence to have passed into the hands of the Jewish and Christian schoolmen, the offspring and pupils of the Mahometan.⁴

At its first rise in the schools of the Saracens, the question of the attributes distinctly appears to have been levelled against Christianity, and the catholic doctrine of the Trinity. To avoid the distinctions of persons in the Godhead, as maintained by the Christian church, the Motazalites excluded all eternal attributes from their definition of God. And the several subordinate questions moved by these sectarists, as, Whether God knew by his knowledge or by his essence? Whether his attributes were properties distinct from his essence, or themselves constituted his essence? with such like metaphysical subtleties, borrowed from the study of the Greek philosophy, had for their common object the vindication of the great fundamental of the Ma-

hometan religion, its doctrine of the Divine Unity.⁵

In their discussions upon the attributes and nature of the Godhead, Maimonides and the Jewish scholastics on the one hand, and the heretical disciples of Peter Abelard on the other, eagerly caught up the disputes of their Saracen preceptors: a point of contact, through which the connection may be clearly traced, between Mahometanism, and more recent forms of Unitarianism so called, as *parent* and *child*. However the affiliation may be disowned by the modern school of “rational Christians,” it has been candidly and cheerfully recognized, on more than one occasion, by their less refined perhaps, but more ingenuous and plain-dealing predecessors.⁶

The growing inclination of Mahometanism towards Christianity, from the period of its subdivision into numerous sects and party denominations, is no where more strikingly illustrated, than in the conduct of the debate on the divine attributes: for, the accusation preferred by the Motazalites against their opponents the Sefatians, and all other Mussulman sectarists who asserted the eternity of the attributes, was shortly and simply this,—“That *they had violated the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead, by making more*

Eternals than one ; thereby adopting the Christian belief *, which inculcates the doctrine of a distinctness of persons in the divine nature.”⁷

Upon the question respecting faith and works, or the doctrines of divine grace, and human merit, the analogy between Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, in the history of their sects, is also substantially preserved : the Pharisees and Publicans in the Jewish church, being paralleled, in ancient Christendom, by the opposed schools of Saint Austin and of Pelagius, and in modern Christendom, by the disciples of Calvin, and those of Arminius ; while, in this feature of their history, on the part of Islamism, a correspondence with both dispensations is very forcibly presented, in the contest between the sect of the Waïdians, and that of the Morgians : the former of which sects asserts, in its fullest sense, the moral responsibility of every man for his actions ; in direct opposition to the latter, which pushes its rejection of human responsibility, to the last extreme of the antinomian doctrine.†

Among the Turkish sects, this particular controversy has been more generally moved ; and

* It is almost needless to observe, that this, like the accusations of modern Socinianism, is grossly inaccurate. Orthodox Christians, while they assert a distinctness of persons in Godhead, expressly state, that it consists of “ not three eternals, but One Eternal.”

† Pocock. Spec. pp. 251—257.

their analogy with the conflicting parties in the Jewish and Christian churches is proportionately marked : the community of the Dervises, like the followers of Saint Augustine, strenuously upholding the operations of the grace of God in man, as vitally essential to the production of good works ; the sect of the Tzofilar, after the example of the Pharisees among the Jews, and of the disciples of Pelagius in the Christian church, strongly advocating the sufficiency of human merit, considered altogether independently of the divine aid and influences. *

Besides the correspondence which has been now briefly indicated between Christianity and Mahometanism, in the history of their sects and schisms, there subsists a further analogy, in the rise of the religious orders, which successively sprang up within the two systems. This feature of the general parallel will find an appropriate place, in the ensuing comparison of the Mahometan with the papal superstition.

* Hott. Hist. Orient. p. 365.

SECTION X.

ANALOGY OF MAHOMETANISM WITH POPERY.

IN the preceding sections, the religion of Mahomet has been compared with Christianity at large, in its eastern and western branches; in order to the exposition, on a scale sufficient for the final object of our argument, of the several analogies ascertained to subsist between the two religions.

The analogy of Mahometanism with the church of Rome, constitutes a distinct and prominent feature in the general parallel; and, as such, is entitled to a separate consideration. In a former place *, it was stated, that the rival ecclesiastico-political tyrannies appear to be represented in the prophecy of Daniel, under the common symbols of the eastern and western little horns. It shall be my present aim, to trace out more fully the detail of that actual similitude, which made it but natural, that they should be symbolized under a common type.

Before we proceed, however, to the facts of

* Sect. ii.

this detail, it may be satisfactory to reflecting minds, that some notice should be taken of the remarkable providence visible in the particular point of time which gave birth to Mahometanism.

From the nature of the primitive relation between the two systems, the inference is plain, that Mahometanism must necessarily have *followed* Christianity in order of time: it was providentially destined to be the spurious counterpart of the true revelation; with which, consequently, it was impossible that it should synchronize, since it belongs essentially to the character of *heresy*, that it should spring up from the corruptions of the true faith. Now, the natural and proper season for the rise of such an apostasy would, obviously, be a period wherein the true religion should have reached its lowest ebb of degeneracy. Again, if Mahometanism was ordained to rank as the eastern head of antichrist, it might further be expected to coincide chronologically with the rise of antichrist in the west.—How then, let us inquire, in point of fact, does Mahometanism stand circumstanced in both these respects? The answer of history is conclusive for our argument. It arose in the seventh century of the Christian era; that is to say, precisely at the worst and lowest epoch of corrupted Christianity. It arose, also, in one

and the same age, if not rather in the very year, in which papal Rome first and permanently erected her antichristian tyranny in the opposite quarter of the globe.

The corruptions of Christianity, in the East and in the West, sprang up, it is matter of notoriety, in the apostolic age itself; and grew and multiplied exceedingly, at a very early period of church history. From the first century downward, both the eastern and the western church exhibited melancholy precursive tokens of an approaching universal decline, from the principles, and from the power, of true religion. The gradual declension of the two great branches of Christendom was distinguished, however, from its outset, by this remarkable contrast, — that, while the apostasy of the Greek church lay, chiefly, in the generation of heretical pravity, that of the Latin, consisted, principally, in the growth of superstition, and of its never-failing accompaniment, moral corruption. The proficiency of the two churches, in these distinct departments of iniquity, advanced progressively, from age to age, towards full maturity, in despite of many and powerful providential counteractions; until, at the commencement of the seventh century, as every kind of authority combines to demonstrate, the decay of religion and morals had become universal, throughout Chris-

tendom. Contemporary witnesses describe the appalling evils of the times ; and anticipate some commensurate impending visitation.¹ It would appear, that, as at the period of the deluge, the whole Christian world had now perverted its ways before God ; and, accordingly, a twofold visitation, faithfully adapted to the twofold character of their apostasy, fell, in one hour, upon the two churches. The same age, nearly the same point of time, gave birth to the arch-heresy of Mahomet in the East, and to the temporal tyranny of the Papal power in the West : the latter domination to become the champion and the scourge of moral, as the former of heretical, corruption.

Christianity and Mahometanism, compared together under the characters which they respectively bore, at the periods of their first promulgation, faithfully reflect the image, and throughout, preserve the distance, of the original covenants with Isaac and Ishmael : the religion of the Gospel, like the former covenant, being pure, peaceful, spiritual, and free ; that of the Koran, like the latter covenant, carnal, sanguinary, secular, slavish : in a word, taking up the comparison at this point, the analogy is every way that which might be expected to subsist, between the religion emanating from the legitimate,

and the superstition springing from the spurious, seed ; in every sense the Gospel shines transcendent.

But at that awful period when Mahometanism arose, the parallel between the two systems assumes a wholly different aspect : the comparison no longer lies between the essentially opposed principles of the Gospel and Koran ; but, by the just retribution of God's Providence toward an apostate church and people, between the kindred corruptions of the Mahometan tyranny, and its genuine counterpart, Papal Rome.

The relations of resemblance and contrast, of sympathy and opposition, which combine to link together these hostile ecclesiastico-political dominations, have been repeatedly touched on in the progress of this work ; and compose, altogether, one of the most striking features of its general argument. It becomes now our duty to assemble the detached phenomena, and to present this important branch of the parallel, as a whole.

The following is a circumstantial outline of the leading heads of correspondence : —

1. Coincidence in time : the beginning of the seventh century stands as the common era, for the commencement of the Papal and Mahometan tyrannies.

2. Antithetical relation of place : Papal Rome held in the West, exactly the position which Ma-

hometanism occupied in the East ; was, in other words, the providential scourge to western, which Mahometanism was to eastern, Christendom.

3. Each despotism was, in its very essence, a union of the spiritual and the temporal power ; and such a union, as neither time nor change, which loosen every bond of merely human policy, has been able to dissolve.²

4. The Pope was the acknowledged temporal and spiritual head of the Roman or Latin church : the Caliph the acknowledged temporal and spiritual head of the Mahometan world ; insomuch as to be styled, by both Christian and Jewish writers in the middle ages, the Pope of the Mahometans.*

5. The Roman pontiffs claimed to derive their authority, and that of their church, by regular succession, from Saint Peter, the first of the apostles : the caliphs claimed to derive theirs, by regular succession, from Mahomet, according to their creed, the last and greatest of the apostles of God.

6. The Papal and Mahometan tyrannies alike advanced the claim to universal sovereignty.

* The words of Friar Bacon are — “ Calipha quasi Papa eorum :” the correspondence was too exact, to escape the notice of an enemy to both superstitions ; “ Calipha Muhammedanorum religionis antistes est ; ipsique omnes Ismaelitarum reges fasces submitunt ; iis, enim, eodem modo præest, quo Papa Christianis.” Benjamin. Itin. p. 63. ap. Hott. Hist. Orient. p. 287.

7. They alike enforced their pretensions by persecution and the sword.

8. Mahometanism instituted the Saracen holy wars: Popery originated the Christian crusades.

9. Popery, among other first-fruits of the crusades, produced the mendicant orders: Mahometanism, the parallel mendicant orders of Derwises, Fakirs, Santons, &c.

10. Mahometanism was the parent, Popery the nurse, of the schoolmen.*

11. The Christian princes of the West all held their crowns by authority of the Roman pontiffs; to whom accordingly they did fealty and homage for them: all Mahometan princes held theirs, on a like tenure, by authority of the caliphs.

12. Popery and Mahometanism alternately appear, first, as the extinguishers, and, secondly, as the restorers, of letters.

The parallel comprized in this brief enumeration, like that between Christianity and Mahometanism at large, is one, of which the history of the world supplies no second example. Particulars of it have been repeatedly noticed by Protestant writers; but to understand its real extent, and its place in the present argument, it must be contemplated in its full character and proportions.

In tracing the necessary steps of this analogy,

* See sect. xiii.

it is remote, indeed, from the writer's intention, to identify the antichristian papal tyranny, with the western Catholic church. Under the yoke of Rome, indeed, the rights and liberties of the Latin church had altogether passed away: the pure and peaceful spirit of the Gospel had long been submerged, beneath the incumbent weight of a dark and bloody superstition: in every period, however, of that bondage, even in the worst, the western church preserved unextinguished the vital spark of its Christianity: nor, while men chronicle the crimes of the church and court of Rome, should the list of worthies be forgotten, which ennobles her annals, and which all but redeems her heavy kalendar of guilt. The church, which, at a period that has been justly entitled the night of Europe, produced a Saint Bernard, a Bede, a Thomas-à-Kempis *, with other shining lights, — which, in later times, engendered and matured the piety and virtues of a Fenelon, an Arnaud, a Pascal, a Nicole, — is no meet subject for indiscriminate censure. Protestant writers, in particular, would do well to recollect, that to popes, and devoted ministers of the papal power, they stand indebted for much of the knowledge and civilization, which

* The author of the "*De Imitatione Christi*," whoever he may have been, has appropriated this name to himself, by the best of titles.

constitute the strength and glory of Protestant Europe. The pontifical family of the Medici were rendered not more noted by their services to the cause of Romish bigotry and persecution, than illustrious by their zeal for the restoration of learning: by the munificent patronage which he extended to letters and the fine arts, Leo X. himself, fostered with one hand, while he opposed with the other, the rise and progress of the glorious Reformation.

But, without at all losing sight of these providential compensations, when we recall to mind, on the other hand, the whole mystery of iniquity brought to the birth and nurtured by the church and court of Rome, — when we reflect, that a character of Popery, more fearful and revolting than any ever framed by the prejudices of its opponents, may be drawn from the testimony of its own advocates and adherents³, — it would imply, assuredly, a surrender of the truth, such as Christian charity never could require, to remain blind to the awful correspondence of papal Rome, to the Babylon of the Apocalypse, or to its identity with the antichrist prefigured, in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, by Saint Paul. It is in this aspect of Popery, that the comparison with Mahometanism holds properly and painfully true: great as the superiority of this Catholic apostasy is, in every better feature,

it may, in its antichristian characteristics, be unequivocally pronounced, the prophetic counterpart of that “abomination of desolation.”

In exposing the further proofs of the correspondence between these rival superstitions, the writer must distinctly and cordially disclaim every merely controversial purpose: his simple aim is truth; and it shall be his single endeavour, to elicit the truth, by following faithfully the reciprocal lights of history and Scripture prophecy.

The analogy, as yet but generally intimated, will lose nothing by a nearer and more exact inspection. Grasping in their hands the keys of the kingdoms of earth and heaven, and issuing their irresistible mandates from Rome, the alleged metropolis of the Christian world, the Popes set up their claim, to be, at once, the sole and supreme arbiters in all matters of religion, throughout Christendom, and the divinely-constituted creators, depositors, and restorers of kings*: the

* The progress of the papal antichrist has often been delineated; but seldom so forcibly as by the author of “*Lux Renata, A Protestant’s Epistle* :” a master-piece of moral satire, in which the spirit of the poet is at once tempered and sustained, by the profound acquirements of the theologian. The readers of Pope and Dryden will recognize their favourite school of English versification, in the following nervous lines: —

Long were the task, through each degree to trace
God’s servant’s servant to his pride of place:
To note how, borne above his lowly birth,
He rear’d his crosier o’er the lords of earth;
To robes of empire chang’d his priestly gown,
And swell’d the mitre to the triple crown.

... ..

Much

most ancient and powerful sovereigns of Europe were content to hold their sceptres from the pretended successor of Saint Peter; and to them, also, each new dynasty looked for a secure title to those domains, which had been, or which were to be, acquired by their swords: seated on the chair of the Vatican, an eminence more lofty than the loftiest thrones, the Roman pontiffs, the princes of the kings of the earth, kindled and directed those Holy Wars, in which the German emperors, and French and English kings, appeared on the theatre of Asia, but as their lieutenants and vassals.

Let the scene only be changed from Rome, to Bagdad or Damascus;—to the successors of Mahomet, from the self-entitled successors of Saint Peter,—and the extent of the parallel cannot fail to impress every observer. Wielding that earthly sword, which Mahomet himself had pronounced to be “the key of heaven,” and issuing their commands from the metropolis of the Mahome-

Much power by fraud, by terror more was gain'd,
This guilt accorded, falsehood that obtain'd.
With lavish hand both saint and sinner gave,
One stung by conscience, one to zeal a slave.
Till the proud harlot, from her seven-fold hill,
Saw prostrate nations cower beneath her will;
And his broad arms the peaceful fisher threw,
More wide, AUGUSTUS, than thine eagles flew.

Lux Renata. London, 1827.

tan world, the Arabian caliphs long asserted and sustained their claim to supreme authority, temporal and spiritual, over the subject nations of the East : in the height of their power, they impelled and ruled the tide of war, which bore the triumphant crescent of Mahomet to the shores of the Bosphorus, or to the pinnacles of the Pyrennees ; in their diminished fortunes, they bestowed the kingdoms of the earth, at will, upon successive dynasties of Mahometan princes ; and even their haughty and ferocious vassals, the barbarous Turks, accounted it their policy and pride, to hold their conquests and their crowns, by right of the investiture received from “ the head of the true believers.” *

Nor were the pretensions of the popes and caliphs to supreme power, confined within the bounds of western Christendom on the one hand, or of the existing Mahometan world on the other : the claim set up by both, was a claim to

* Thus we find Mahmud of Gazna, in the plenitude of imperial power, deriving increased authority and lustre from his nominal vassalage to the caliphs : — “ The fame of Mahmud’s continued conquests in Hindostan, and triumphs over idolatry, having reached Bagdad, the caliph then reigning made a great festival on the joyful occasion ; *conferred on him titles of the highest honour* ; and ordered an account of his victories to be publicly read to the enraptured populace. Mahmud, in A.D. 1021, to manifest a proper sense of gratitude for these favours, dispatched an army, headed by a skilful general, to open the roads to Mecca ; which had long been obstructed by the wild Arabs, who were accustomed to murder the pilgrims, and plunder the caravans.” Maurice’s *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 286.

universal sovereignty over the faith and fortunes of mankind.

While, at home, the Roman pontiffs undertook to partition Europe at their pleasure, they acknowledged no narrower limits to their rightful sway, in foreign parts, than the boundaries of the known world : with the enlargement of these boundaries, accordingly, the measure of papal ambition was seen proportionately to enlarge ; and, in the fifteenth century, no sooner had the age of discovery arisen, to lay open a new world, and to trace out new paths through the old, than the same arbiters of nations, by two summary deeds of conveyance, bestowed America on the Spaniards, and India on the Portuguese.

In perfect sameness of spirit with the dispenser of these gifts, the Caliph of Bagdad had, four hundred years before, bestowed India on Mahmud, the Turkish Sultan of Gazna, the first Mahometan invader and conqueror of Hindostan : the caliphate thus maintaining, in its latest period of decay, that parallel claim to universal sovereignty, which prompted the hostile expeditions of the primitive Saracens against Christian Europe ; and which aimed, in one and the same vast enterprise, to plant the standard of the Prophet on the altar of the Vatican, and on the dome of Saint Sophia.⁴

Christianity, when originally sent forth to bless and benefit a benighted world, had been pronounced by its Divine Founder, the religion of peace : a character of the Gospel, which serves to heighten the force of the parallel between Popery and Mahometanism ; antichristian tyrannies, which are known, alike, to sanction the employment of persecution, as the legitimate handmaid of religion. The appeal enjoined by the precepts of both superstitions, is, not to reason, but, to force. Mahomet in the Koran, expressly forbids his followers to reason at all with infidels ; but exhorts them to silence the arguments of infidelity by the sword : “ Fight against them, until there be no opposition left in favour of idolatry, and the religion be wholly God’s.” In close conformity with this persecuting precept of the Koran, we find, under the institutions of papal Rome, even the good Saint Louis instructing his crusaders, not to answer the unbelievers, but to thrust their swords into them, up to the hilt. ⁵

Persecution was the cardinal rule of Mahometanism. The following decisive authorities may suffice, as specimens of the similar spirit, and ordinances of the Roman church. By the third canon of the fourth council of Lateran, it is commanded, “ that all temporal lords shall

take an oath to exterminate, to the utmost of their power, all heretics, declared to be such by the church ; and that, if any temporal lord, being admonished by the church, shall neglect to purge his tenantry from all taint of heresy, he shall be excommunicated by the metropolitans, and other provincial bishops ; and if he contemptuously omit to give satisfaction within a year, it shall be signified to the holy pontiff, in order that he may proclaim his vassals absolved from their allegiance, and may expose to Catholics his territory, to be occupied by them ; who, having exterminated the heretics, may possess the same without contradiction.”⁶ At a comparatively recent period of her annals, the church of Rome is described by one of her most illustrious ornaments, the celebrated Bishop of Meaux, “ as the most intolerant of all Christian sects ; it is her holy and inflexible incompatibility which renders her so odious to Protestants ; it is this, which renders her so severe and so unsocial to all sects separated from her ; they only desire to be tolerated by her, but her holy severity forbids such indulgence :” again : — “ *The exercise of the power of the sword*, in matters of religion and conscience, is a point not to be called in question ; there is no delusion more dangerous, than to make toleration a characteristic of the true

church.”⁷ * The maxims of persecution for religion’s sake, here, and in ten thousand instances beside, inculcated by her councils or her fathers, have, in every age, and in every quarter of the globe, been illustrated by the practice of the church of Rome: France, Flanders, Britain, Italy, Portugal, Spain, have, in turns, been the theatres of her European massacres and desolations; India and America bear record, in characters of blood, to the consistent tyranny, in the remotest regions of the east and west, of her dark and unchanging despotism. The attempts of her apologists to varnish over, or explain away, the appalling facts which, on every side, elucidate her code of persecution, serve only to bring before us another feature of the antichristian character of papal Rome, by exposing more fully her calculating and systematic disregard of truth.⁸ And, not to revive the memory of other, and still more recent horrors,—with the daggers of St. Bartholomew, the sword of Alva, and the fires of the Inquisition, present to the eye, who, save the slavish advocates of that tyranny under which they groan, can refuse to acknowledge, in these revolting scenes, the native and unchangeable character of the Romish superstition?⁹

Nor is it only from the spirit of persecution,

* Bossuet, *Avertissement sur Les Lettres de M. Jurieu.*

which thus characterizes both tyrannies, that this branch of the parallel can be made to appear: the analogy will be found to obtain circumstantially, and with an historical exactness, in all respects correspondent with the providential relation which subsists between the rival apostasies. Both in the carrying on of war against the infidels without, and in the conduct of religious persecutions against heretics within, the pales of their respective dominations, the popes and the caliphs stand antithetically related and opposed to each other; and, while the origin of the crusades, assimilates the Roman pontiffs to the primitive character of the successors of Mahomet, the persecutions at Bagdad, under the Abbasside caliphs, on the question of the creation of the Koran, and for other subtilties of doctrine, abundantly invest Mahometanism with attributes corresponding to the proper character of papal Rome.

But, further, it is remarkable equally of both tyrannies, that the holy wars which they respectively levied, were not limited in their operation to foreign infidelity; they were carried on by each, with equal zeal and rigour, against domestic heresies, and against the sects accounted heretical, within the pale of its communion: thus, the memorable crusades set on foot by the

popes, against the Waldenses, Albigenses, and other early martyrs in the cause of reformation, find ample parallels in the annals of the caliphs. And not to instance this in the case of other Mahometan heresies, it is recorded of the single sect of the Horrimæans, in the reign of Mutasim Billah, that sixty thousand perished in one battle, and one hundred thousand in another, fought, within the same year, with the troops sent to oppose them from Bagdad. *

In no respect perhaps, not excepting its canons for the extirpation of heretics, (of all, that is, who, in matters civil or religious, oppose themselves to the authority of Rome,) does the antichristian character of the papal tyranny stand more signally revealed, than in the well-known tenet, often preached, and still oftener practised by Romanists, which maintains that faith is not to be kept with heretics; that any engagements entered into with men reputed such, are not binding, but may lawfully be broken; and that heresy is a crime which justifies the violation even of the sanctity of the most solemn oaths. Modern Roman Catholics have naturally been anxious to disown, on the part of their church, the prevalence, and even the existence, of this monstrous maxim: the special pleadings

* See Elmacin. Hist. Sar. p. 141.

of the controversialist, however, are not likely to carry much weight with protestant readers, so long as the names of John Huss, and of the brave Coligny, retain a place in the history of the reformation.¹⁰

The corresponding mark of antichrist in the Mahometan apostasy, I shall expose in the words of Mr. Gibbon ; bringing the practical experience of a recent observer on the spot, to illustrate and confirm his statement : — “ The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no person can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion ; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors.”* In a recent occurrence on the northern frontier of Persia, may be seen the natural fruits of this nefarious doctrine. The comment is worthy of the text. “ The Russian commander of Gango, on the Persian frontier, assembled the principal Mahometan inhabitants of the place, and insisted on their swearing to be faithful to Russia, on the Koran. They objected to this, without previously consulting their moollah ; and desired time to do so. The moollah recommended them not to hesitate, as such an oath would not be binding towards infidels ; so they took it.”† The tragical

* Decline and Fall, vol. xii. p. 187.

† Extract of a letter from the Persian frontier, August 22, 1826.

catastrophe which presently followed, may serve as the finishing stroke to this dark feature of the parallel with Romanism : — these very Persians surprised and murdered the unsuspecting Russian garrison ! just as the authors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew dealt with the defenceless Coligny, and his Hugonot brethren ; violating, in like fashion, the sanctity of a solemn oath !

We proceed to examine coincidences of a different class from the preceding, between Mahometanism and the church of Rome : the correspondence of the eastern and western anti-christs, in their antisocial principles and maxims, is not more characteristic, than that which may be traced between these superstitions, in their respective establishments and institutions.

In the ancient Jewish church, the annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, — rendered unavoidable by the necessity imposed on every Israelite, of discharging his religious vows, by offering up sacrifices in the temple, — formed a constituent part of the Jews' religion : the usage naturally passed into the early Christian church, where Jerusalem had acquired another and livelier interest, as the scene of the life and miracles, the death and resurrection, of the Divine Author of Christianity. By the policy of the Roman pontiffs, these natural and laudable sympathies were gradually

converted into an organized scheme of superstition, and engine of power : the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was now taken into the hands of the popes ; what had been a voluntary service, was changed into a compulsory duty ; new laws of pilgrimage were enacted ; new places of pilgrimage ordained ; the tombs of newly kalendared saints and martyrs were substituted for the original object of attraction, the Holy Sepulchre ; and pilgrimage, reduced to regular rules and forms, became transmuted, from a catholic observance, into a Romish penance. ¹¹

From this period, the analogy between the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Mecca, and to the shrines of Romish and Mussulman saints, assumes a prominent rank, in the parallel between the great eastern and western apostasies. The pilgrimage to Mecca formed a primitive fundamental of the Mahometan creed : in every age of the Hejra, it had been conducted on a scale corresponding with that, which, from the commencement of the eleventh century, to the close of the crusades, characterized the Latin pilgrimages to Jerusalem ; while, for those who were unable to perform or to repeat this greater ordinance, a substitute existed in the Mahometan superstition, strictly analogous to the alternative provided by the church of Rome, — devotional

visits, namely, to the tombs of reputed saints or martyrs of Mahometanism. The miracles performed at these tombs, are equally the boast of both systems *; and equally authenticated, by a body of evidence, which it is far less difficult to invent, than to believe.¹²

If the correspondence between popery and Mahometanism in their other rites and institutions be strong, it will be found more forcibly striking, in *the character of their religious orders*. Those peculiar characteristics of the ascetical life, which have formed, successively, the proud distinction of the most celebrated religious foundations of the church of Rome, and which have been arrogated by her champions, as among the exclusive marks of the true church, are not more ostentatiously exhibited in her most rigid forms of monastic seclusion, than in the colleges and cells of the Mahometan dervises and santons. The mendicant orders of monks and friars, the genuine offspring of popery and the crusades, find their faithful counterparts among the religious communities emanating from the rival superstition. The rules of the principal Roman Catholic orders are too well and too generally

* “ Ipsi fateri cogantur Pontificii, non pauciora commemorare Turcas de Sanctis suis miracula, quàm habere præ se ferant ipsi.” Hott. Hist. Orient. p. 303.

known, to require specification. I proceed, therefore, at once to exemplify, from good authorities, the Mahometan side of the parallel; and shall leave it with the reader to trace for himself the palpable features of identity, between its fanatical ascetics, and the ascetical fanaticism of papal Rome. *

The following is the description, drawn by the translator of Demetrius Cantemir, of the religious orders of Turkey, as they exist to this day throughout the Ottoman empire. "*Dervise* is the common name of *the Turkish monks*, though of *various orders and institutions*. The most noted among them are the Bektashi, the Mevelevi, the Kadri, and the Seyah. The monks of the order of Bektashi, though they may marry, and dwell in cities and towns, are bound by their law to visit remote lands; and to salute every one they meet with *gazel* (or divine love songs), and *esma* (or invocations), and to wish him all manner of prosperity, &c. The Mevelevi, *in their monasteries*, profess great *humility* and *poverty*; and,

* The doctrine of works of supererogation, which has served to stimulate the mortifications of the Romish devotee, might seem to have been derived from Mahometanism: at least, it is distinctly laid down in the Koran: "And watch some part of the night in the same exercise [prayer], as a work of supererogation for thee; peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable station." Sale's Koran, vol. ii. p. 107. "According to a tradition of Abu Horeira, the *honourable station* here intended, is that of *Intercessor for others*." Ib. translator's note *h*.

if visited, they make no distinction of persons, but pay the same respect to men of all ranks, treating them alike. *They also wash the feet and sandals of their guests.* The Kadri, with a peculiar superstition, *emaciate their bodies, &c.* The Seyah are wanderers, and *though they have their monasteries*, yet, when once they depart from them, they seldom return, but *spend their time in travelling about.* For their *superiors* or *prelates** impose upon them, when they are sent out, a levy to a large amount of *money* or *provisions*, forbidding them to come back, *till they have procured it, and sent it to the monastery.*"¹³

In the different orders of dervises here described, the reader will, at once, recognize the palpable and various analogy with the religious orders of papal Rome. The strict affinity between the Roman and Mahometan orders of ascetics and mendicants, in their rules and vows, is most perceptible: the emaciations of the body, the vows of poverty, of humility, of obedience, the compulsory confinement in monasteries, or

* "*Shich*, or *prelate*, like the *archimandrite* in the Greek monasteries, or the *abbot* in abbeys. For, with the Turks, not only the superiors of the great and royal *Jami*, but also the heads of the *Takkè* of the dervises are called *Shich*. Hence even the *mufti*, who is instead of a *patriarch*, is wont to be called *Shich ulistim*, i. e. *Prelate of the saved*, and HIGH PRIEST." Cantemir, Book i. note 17. English Translation.

journeyings in foreign parts on religious missions, the levying, as mendicants, and in the shape of alms, contributions for the support of their respective colleges and convents, — these capital coincidences taken together, make out such a correspondence between Popery and Mahometanism in this branch of the parallel, as to free us from all necessity for further comment or detail.* If the religious fraternities of the church of Rome have been marked by high pretensions to external sanctity, they seem to be in no degree yielded to, in this respect, by their Mahometan compeers†, as characterized by the learned Hottinger, on the testimony of creditable eye-witnesses : — “ Such is the exemplary deportment of the dervises, in all their words and actions, and so great the ostentation of devoutness visible in their manners, and even in their movements, that they

* Nor can the sincerity of these devotees be reasonably impugned by Romanists themselves : “ *Quam serii sint [Dervislar], in religione sua, satis superque sciunt pontificii; qui licet jam diu conventus inter eos habuerint, ne unum eorum toto seculo ad fidem Romanum trahere potuerint.*” Hott: H. O. p. 310.

† Although not ranking with the religious orders, we must not omit to remark the correspondence between the Popish and the Mahometan *mystics* : in both systems, these religionists emanated from the same source, — the scholastic theology ; which owed its origin to Mahometanism, to which, therefore, the R. C. school of mysticism may be traced. The relation appears from the sameness of phraseology, of subjects, and even of titles, employed in their writings by the Romish and by the Mahometan mystics. See Sect. xiii.

wear the semblance rather of angels than of men.”*

But one more feature of agreement has been reserved to perfect the analogy; namely, the obligation of celibacy which Popery and Mahometanism unite in imposing on their monastic confraternities: the rules of the Roman Catholic church on this head, are universally familiar; and of the Mahometans, we are informed by Septem Castrensis, and others cited by Hottinger, that celibacy, as well as abstinence, is a standing injunction of their monastic discipline; and that “the dervises, for the greater part, if not uniformly, lead a life of strict celibacy,” as part of their vow.†

In the rules of its monastic institutions, the Mahometan, in common with the Romish superstition, thus clearly exemplifies two conspicuous marks of Antichrist furnished by the Apostle: — “forbidding to marry, and commanding to ab-

* “Sunt tantæ exemplaritatis in omnibus eorum dictis et factis, in moribus et motibus quoque tantam præferentes religionis ostensionem, ut non homines sed angeli videantur esse.” Hist. Orient. p. 308, *309. M. Hottinger conceives that the progressive increase of Mahometanism must be attributed, in a great measure, to this outward show of piety; “Muhammedicam sectam hinc maximè (apud eos qui non habent αὐσθητηρία γεγυμνασμένα) sua habere incrementa, quod ad externam sanctitatem ei nihil videatur deesse.” Ib. p. 304.

† “Dervishler, plurimam partem, si non omnes, cælebes sunt.” Septem Castrens. ap. Hott. ut supr.

stain from meats.”* The rule of celibacy in force among the dervises, is the more remarkable, as, on a first view, celibacy would seem altogether abhorrent from the character and genius of the Mahometan religion.

The division of the clerical order in the church of Rome, into the two great classes of seculars and regulars, has also its counterpart in the Mahometan system ; for the priests, or *tusmans*, are contra-distinguished, among the Turks, from the religious, or dervises :† the fundamental ground of jealousy, too, appears to be the same ; the main question in dispute, between the *tusmans* and the dervises, as between the seculars and regulars in the Romish church, being this, whether the vows, and alms, and oblations of the people, are legally the right of the priests, or of the religious ?‡

On the analogy between the Romish and Mahometan ecclesiastics generally, we have next to observe, that the two bodies do not differ more widely in their spiritual characters and functions, than they agree in the nature of that

* 1 Tim. iv. 3.

† “ SACERDOTES, *Tusmanni* dicuntur, et RELIGIOSOS *Derviser* nuncupantur.” Sept. Castr. ap. Hott. p. 297. For the varied orthography, — *Derviser*, *Dervishler*, and *Dervislar*, — Hottinger and his authorities are responsible.

‡ “ Utrum vota, et eleemosynæ, et oblationes communis populi, jure debeantur *ipsis Sacerdotibus*, vel *ipsis Religiosis*.” Ib.

secular influence, which, within their respective communities, they exercise in temporal affairs.

The direct and indirect interference of the clergy in civil affairs, with their usurpation of an absolute control over both the sovereign and the people, first consolidated the power of the Popes, and formed the basis of that vast ecclesiastico-political tyranny, which the church of Rome eventually erected in Europe. From the days of the Hildebrands and Innocents, to the age of the Reformation, the momentous questions of peace and war hung dependent, not on the will of princes, or the wisdom of senators, but on the decrees of councils, and the bulls of Popes.

What the Romish ecclesiastical polity was, in this aspect, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, and what it probably still would be, but for the Reformation, the Mahometan has continued, without check or change, from the rise of the Saracen, to the decline of the Ottoman empire. It is a noted fact, that, in civil affairs generally, but especially in all questions of peace and war, the despotism even of the Turkish Sultans is subjected to the control of the Mussulman priesthood; and that, in great emergencies, the deliberations of the Divan are always regulated by the council of the Ulemahs.

Such is the close parallel between Popery and

Mahometanism, in the secular influence of the priesthood, as exhibited in Turkey: and as it is in Turkey, so it is in Persia, and other Mahometan states.

Lastly, The character of that inveterate and sanguinary warfare between the Papal and Mahometan tyrannies, the spirit of which still outlives the vicissitudes of ten centuries*, combines with their contemporaneous rise, progress, and decay, and with all the heads of the general analogy specified in these pages, to mark the prophetic relation of the two powers, as, indeed, the great heads of that Antichrist foretold by Christ and his Apostles, and vividly foreshown in the Scriptures of both Testaments.† If, in the earlier ages of Mahometanism, in obedience to the precepts of the Koran, the successors of Mahomet carried a war of religion and persecution into the heart of France and Italy, — in the era of the crusades, the self-named successors of Saint Peter, in the genuine spirit of Mahometanism, exchanging the sword of the Spirit for the arm of flesh, bore the terrors of war and persecution into the midst of Mahometan Asia. To the warlike fanaticism of the armed apostles of

* Computing from the invasion of France by the Saracens, in the ninth century; that is, from the date of their earliest collision with Catholic Europe.

† See especially sect. iii.

Islamism, was now every where opposed the kindred fanaticism of a military priesthood, arrayed under the banners of papal Rome.* And the common spirit of the hostile superstitions is hardly more legible in the annals of the crusades themselves, than in the history of those bloody wars between the Turks and Franks, by which the crusades were succeeded. Nor is it the least remarkable feature of coincidence in this rivalry of persecution, that, while, in more modern times, the atrocities of the piratical states of Barbary have served to keep alive the character of the antichristian conflict of Mahometanism with Popery on the shores of the Mediterranean, — the cruelties of the Portuguese in the East, and the dreadful enormities of the inquisition of Goa, have registered, in notes of blood and fire, along the coasts of India, the character of the no less antichristian controversy, maintained, by the authority of the church of Rome, against the Mahometan world.

But the developement of these, and other particulars of this parallel, must be reserved for the ensuing examination of the crusades, and their consequences; where they will find their natural and proper place.

* The motives, however, of many among the crusaders, and the providential uses of the crusades, must not be lost sight of. See sections xi, xii, xiii.

SECTION XI.

THE CRUSADES.

THE causes and effects of the crusades form one of the most interesting topics of modern history.* The subject has, accordingly, engaged the attention, and exercised the minds, of our most eminent historical writers. But, whatever may be the connection of this important question with the history of modern Europe, its investigation must enter essentially into the plan of the present work; where the object proposed is a comparison of Christianity and Mahometanism, in all the analogies which exist between the two religious polities. Among the heads of this comparison, the holy wars occupy a foremost place: 1. on account of the international relations, and the universal collisions, which, for the

* For much new and valuable light, we owe a debt of thanks to the French Institute: the impulse given by its liberal encouragement of more full inquiry into the character and consequences of the holy wars, has produced the desired fruits: the essays of M.M. Heeren, and De Choiseul D'Aillecourt, "Sur l'Influence des Croisades," will be perused with interest by every reader, who would enlarge his view of the philosophy of history, or take a fresh lesson out of this important chapter of the book of providence.

space of two centuries, these expeditions occasioned between the Christian and the Mahometan world* ; and 2. because the crusades prosecuted by western Christendom against the Mahometan powers, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century inclusive, were, properly speaking, but the reaction of that religious warfare, which, in the seventh century, Mahometanism had set on foot, with no less a purpose than the utter subversion of Christianity.¹

In re-opening this great field of inquiry, it will be our first duty, briefly to examine the previous state of the question. By the founders of the historical school, which sprang up in Great Britain during the eighteenth century, and which has deservedly established its reputation throughout Europe, views of the Christian expeditions to Palestine, of their causes, of their general character, and of their final results, have been taken, which, whether justly or unjustly, strip those stupendous movements, both of all true historical dignity, and of all direct political utility or importance. Brute force, impelled by blind fanaticism, or by pious fraud, may be said

* M. Oelsner traces the rise of European chivalry, to *ante-Mahometan* Arabia : Mahometanism first gave the spirit of chivalry its religious character, and communicated it by contact to the Christian nations of Europe. *Effets de la Relig. de Moham.* p. 177.

to comprize the account, which two eminent writers of the last age have given of their origin; and, according to the same high authorities, unmitigated evil would appear to have been their immediate, and almost their only direct result.*

In his preliminary view of the state of Europe, the celebrated author of the History of Charles V. professes to discuss the subject of the crusades. But, while willing largely to acknowledge their indirect operation upon the European system, Doctor Robertson has not scrupled to characterize these holy wars, in their origin and direct influences, as “wild expeditions, the effect of superstition or folly;” and, with still greater freedom of expression, he has further ventured to pronounce “the only common enterprize in which the European nations ever engaged, and which they all undertook with equal ardour, — a singular monument of human folly.”

We may regret to see the dignity of history degraded, by the license of such unmeasured language; language suited, indeed, only to the meridian of minds, which have learnt to con-

* “The principle of the crusades was a savage fanaticism; and the most important effects were analogous to the cause.” *Decline and Fall*, vol. xi. p. 291.

found assertion with argument, and to measure the soundness of opinions, by the boldness with which they are advanced. But when an historian, bearing the character of a Christian minister, esteemed it not unbecoming to stigmatize the armies of the cross, with reference to their immediate operation, as a singular monument of human folly, he should have been at least equally careful to proclaim those expeditions, with relation to their acknowledged permanent effects, a signal monument of the divine wisdom.

With so depreciated an estimate of the rise of the crusades, it was only natural that Doctor Robertson should have shunned to investigate the question of their *policy* ; motives of political wisdom it were worse than idle to inquire after, in projects conceived, and planned, and executed, in folly. But, however blind to the policy of the original design, the historian enters copiously into the beneficial influences of the crusades, upon every branch of the European system : admissions which might have induced some specific recognition of their *providential* purpose ; since, in this aspect, causes may as certainly be appreciated from their consequences, as the nature of the tree is known by the quality of its fruits.

To advert for a moment to subsequent inquirers, it is worthy of all consideration, that, what

ever differences of opinion have prevailed on the subject, thus much seems now to be universally conceded, that the age of improvement in modern Europe commenced with the era of the holy wars; and that, in all its leading branches, the progress of European civilization may be traced to the influences of these chivalrous expeditions. According to the biographer of Charles V. their beneficial influences are legible, in the important particulars which follow : — the introduction of a general change in government and manners, and in the state of property and of commerce; the foundation of free cities; the increase of industry; the erection of representative orders in the state; the forfeiture, by sale or casualties, of the great feudal tenures; the enfranchisement of the serfs, and the consequent amelioration of the social system; the introduction of a more regular, equal, and vigorous administration of justice; the study of the Roman law, and the consequent division of professions : — these, with several other advances and emendations, form the outline of that great and growing improvement in the state of Europe, which Doctor Robertson deduces from the latter end of the eleventh century, and ascribes to the indirect agency of the crusades. Nor does he restrict within these wide limits our debt of gratitude :

for, to the agency of these holy wars, which imported in their train, amidst the superincumbent chaff of superstition and of unsound doctrines, the precious seeds of a future intellectual harvest, he, in fine, admits our obligation, for “the first gleams of light, which tended to dispel barbarism and ignorance.”²

These prospective consequences of the crusades, it will on all sides be readily granted, can in no sense be regarded as results of *man's* foresight or wisdom. But the admission that few, if any of them, were antecedently contemplated, implies, it will be recollected, on the other hand, no impeachment of the penetration or political sagacity of the first movers of the warfare with Mahometanism, in the centre of its eastern strongholds. The total inadequacy of mere human foresight to anticipate the indirect results, certainly takes the matter out of the hands of man; but it does so, only to bring more fully and clearly into light, the guiding and controlling sway of a superintending Providence: of a Providence so ordering events, at a period the most critical in the annals of Christianity, as, at the same time, to consult for the present safety of the church of Christ, and to make provision for its future improvement within, and for its eventual extension to the remotest corners of the earth.

That the latter consequences were wholly unforeseen, should therefore present no stumbling-block to the Christian historian : to his eye, on the contrary, the crusades ought, in this respect, to appear the more eminently a providential movement, because their greatest resulting benefits will be found to have been the most indirect.

At the same time, it would argue little soundness of historical judgment, to deny that *any* of the effects enumerated by Doctor Robertson, were anticipated by the leading contrivers of the wars of Palestine : some of the more immediate effects, assuredly, could not have escaped men of far inferior discernment : for example, the diminution of the feudal authority of the nobles, and the corresponding enlargement of the prerogatives of the crown ; and, again, the depression of the temporal power of the European princes, and the consequent elevation both of the temporal and of the spiritual authority of the popes : these, and similar first-fruits of the holy wars, can hardly be conceived to have passed unforeseen and unheeded, by those, who were, at once, the chief engines by which Europe was put in motion, and the parties directly interested in these proximate effects of their labours.³

But the notion, that, in their original confederation, the crusades were wholly devoid of po-

litical object or design, stands effectually refuted by the history of the period, and by the statements and reasonings actually employed by their first projectors. “The political necessity of resisting the progressive conquests of the Mahometans” was, according to the testimony of Doctor Robertson himself, *the first* of the four principles, on which, in the primitive attempt to rouse Christendom to arms, the pope, and the hermit Peter, founded their appeal. At the Council of Placentia, again, the ambassadors of the Greek emperor publicly represented the instant and urgent policy of the first crusade; and warned the assembled chieftains (I use the words of Mr. Gibbon) “to repel the barbarians on the confines of Asia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe.” In his celebrated speech at the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II. followed up this timely admonition: with all the foresight of a veteran politician, the Roman pontiff set forth, in its just light, the ruin which impended over western Christendom: in the course of his address, “which Malmsbury details as he heard it from those present at its delivery, Urban reminded the assembled people, That the Turks were occupying Syria, Armenia, and all Asia Minor, and were overrunning Illyricum: that they and the Saracens also held

Africa, Spain, and the Balearic Islands, and were devouring, in expectation, the rest of Europe. He exhorts his hearers to undertake the expedition, that at least in these regions the Christians might live at peace.” *

In terms thus explicit, intelligible, and cogent, was the policy of the holy wars explained and enforced by their original propounders, in the face of congregated Europe. But the political motives, which were publicly insisted on, at Placentia, by the Greek envoys, and which were as publicly inculcated at Clermont, by the head of the western church, could not assuredly fail to be repeated in those exhortations, which Pope Urban enjoined the prelates and the clergy to make, through every diocese and district of Christendom.† So far, therefore, from its being the offspring solely of a blind fanaticism, it appears, on the most unquestionable evidence, that the political expediency of the first crusade was a subject familiarized, not only to the princes and nobles, but, even to the rude commons, throughout the west.

Yet, in the face of this contemporary evidence,

* Turner.

† The Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis, the companion of Abp. Baldwin on his laborious pilgrimage through England and Wales, may serve as an index to the zeal and energy with which the call of the popes was obeyed by the Latin hierarchy.

Doctor Robertson undertakes to treat the origin of the holy wars, as a mere ebullition of superstition and folly; and, by his silence as to their policy, seems unequivocally to reject the existence of political motives altogether. Mr. Gibbon, on the other hand, recognizes the public statements made by Pope Urban and others, in elucidation of their policy; but he does so, only to depreciate that policy, and wholly to explain away its expediency or use. *⁴

While the author of the life of Charles V. cannot perceive the political bearings, the historian of the Roman empire pronounces himself unable to discern the beneficial consequences, of the Christian expeditions to Palestine: the former writer, we have seen, characterizes them contemptuously as a monument of human folly; the latter has advanced the monstrous paradox, that the holy wars “have checked, rather than forwarded, the maturity of Europe!”

In the fifty-eighth chapter of the *Decline and Fall*, Mr. Gibbon has discussed the subject of the crusades, in its two principal aspects:

* Happily for Europe and the world, the authors of the first crusade were far better politicians than either Dr. Robertson or Mr. Gibbon. The author will venture to affirm, that, with the merits of the question fairly before him, no practical statesman of the present day would exchange the policy of Pope Urban, for the politico-philosophical theories of either historian.

1. their primitive design and value, in a political point of view ; and 2. the amount and importance of their general results. By following briefly the steps of the historian's argument, the opportunity may arise of inquiring, how far, in his treatment of the first proposition, he is consistent with himself ; and how far, in his management of the second, he is borne out by the evidence of facts, — of the ascertained course of events, which ushered in the improvement of modern Europe.

1. In his estimate of the political expediency of the first crusade, with reference to the grounds on which it was recommended by the original promoters, the historian sets out with the important admission, that, in the eleventh century, western Christendom, in common with all “the unbelieving nations,” laboured under “*a real and urgent apprehension*” of the loss of religion and liberty, by the victorious arms of the Turks ; before whose threatened and impending assault, “the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction.” As the natural and necessary consequence of this state of things, he further acknowledges the right and interest of the Latin powers “in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the west ;” and the legitimate privilege of defensive warfare, to an-

ticipate by an invasion the designs of an encroaching enemy.* These just and obvious concessions, however, would appear to have been made, merely for the purpose of qualifying them by a criticism, which, if well founded, deprives the crusades of their best vindication, as expeditions undertaken for *the defence of western Christendom*†; and, in fact, takes away from them all claim to a political character or importance:—

“ This salutary purpose might have been accomplished by a moderate succour; and our calmer reason must disclaim the innumerable hosts and remote operations, which overwhelmed Asia, and depopulated Europe.”

* The comprehensive object of the first crusade rests not on theoretical inferences; it is established by the evidence of contemporary authorities: thus Ekkehard represents Europe to have been called to arms, — “ frequentibus nuntiis super oppressionem Dominici Sepulchri; ac *desolatione omnium orientalium ecclesiarum.*” The inference which has been so justly drawn by Mr. Sharon Turner, does not appear to have escaped the discernment of the Latin leaders, — that, if Asia were once finally swallowed up, Europe could no longer be safe: “ From the time that Mahomedanism established itself in Asia, it was *obvious* that it would never cease to struggle for *the empire of the world*, while its spirit was upheld by its power.” Hist. of Eng. during Mid. Ages, vol. i. p. 302. This very profound writer has reflected fresh light on the danger of western Christendom, at the epoch of the crusades, by the masterly contrast which he has drawn, between the desultory assaults of the Saracens, and the concentrated energies of Turkish fanaticism. See pp. 303—307.

† This motive was explicitly alleged by the promoters of the first expedition: “ Occidentalis populi dolentis loca sancta Ierosolymis a gentilibus prophanari, et *Turcos etiam terminos Christianorum jam, multa ex parte invassisse, &c.*” Brev. Narrat. ap. Martene et Durand, t. v. p. 536, 537.

A moderate succour! Can the historian have forgotten ere the ink was dry, what he had but the moment before stated, — that, at the epoch of the first crusade, “ the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction?” Can he have paused to reflect, that, at the fearful crisis of which he writes, a holy war had been already proclaimed, by the Turkish powers, against universal Christendom? * That Asia Minor was covered with their armies, to the very shores of the Hellespont?† That Constantinople herself, from the first to the last, the victim marked out by these fierce destroyers, must, in all human probability, have become their prey in the eleventh century, but for their deficiency in shipping?‡

A moderate succour! Surely even a child in politics might undertake to calculate the utmost advantage to be anticipated from such an aid: it might, indeed, have postponed the downfall of the Greek empire for one moment; but only in order

* This sacred war was proclaimed by express command of the caliph. See Decl. and Fall, vol. x. p. 370. The connection between the Saracenic and the Turkish desolation, indicated Rev. ix., seems most accurately realized in this fact: the grand inroad of the Turks, under the four Seljukian princes, i. e. the loosing of the four angels which were bound in the Euphrates, took place, it hence appears, by a mandate from the head of the Mahometan faith. Compare Turner, Hist. Eng. M. A. vol. i. p. 314, 315.

† Gibbon, vol. x. p. 373, 374. Turner, vol. i. pp. 309—311.

‡ Gibbon, vol. x. n. 376.

to its being more ruinously effected in the next. Again, in the then disunited and distracted state of Europe, where, it will naturally be asked, was the guarantee, that this moderate succour should be also *a permanent succour*? A *constant* succession of *partial* reinforcements is supposed on the face of Mr. Gibbon's substitute for the crusades *: but, in that untutored age, such a succession was wholly unattainable; and, although attainable, must have proved unavailable in the end. The battle of Dorylæum, where two hundred thousand Turkish horsemen encompassed, and had nearly crushed, the flower of the European chivalry, headed by the heroic Godfrey of Bouillon, might alone have taught its eloquent recorder, what the whole events of the crusades unite to demonstrate, that nothing short of an overwhelming weight of resistance could have held in check the tremendous Turkish inundation.† The maxim of natural philosophy, that

* The generalship of the Roman historian savours much more of the captain of militia, than either of the great commander, or the grave politician. See Mr. G.'s captivating "*Memoirs of my Life and Writings*," for the very amusing account of his proficiency, under the command of Colonel Sir Richard Worsley, in the study of the art of war.

† Compare Turner, vol. i. p. 314. The providential character of the infliction, was felt and acknowledged at the time: a contemporary Latin chronicler depicts, among other horrors of the Turkish invasion, the ruined churches, and *the mutilated images of our Saviour, the Virgin, and the Saints*, as so many visible signs of the just judgments of God! Conf. Martene et Durand, tom. v. f. 515.

action and re-action are equal and contrary, has also its historical application : the force required to drive back those barbarians of Islamism, is the exact measure of the impulse, with which, but for the Latin chivalry, they would have burst upon the Greek capital, and over the eastern frontier of Europe : but, in the eleventh century, perhaps at any period prior to the fifteenth, the barrier of the Hellespont once forced, Europe, disorganized and incapable of a united effort, must have been quickly swallowed up.*

From the plan of operations for the defence of Christendom against the Turks, with which Mr. Gibbon has ingeniously amused himself and his readers, we may now return to his narrative of facts : the best touchstone, after all, of a historian's consistency and judgment. What then, were, on his own showing, the results actually effected by the irresistible shock of the first crusade?† The Turks, it appears, were not merely checked for the moment, and driven from before the walls of Constantinople : they were broken, and beaten back step by step, in a succession of

* See Turner, vol. i. pp. 311—313.

† “ The first efforts of valour, animated by enthusiasm, were irresistible ; part of the Lesser Asia, all Syria and Palestine, were wrested from the infidels ; the banner of the cross was displayed on Mount Sion.” Hist. Charles V. vol. i. p. 29.

encounters, through Syria *, to the term of their prophetic boundary beyond the Euphrates †: their fortified cities and fastnesses in the Lesser Asia, including the capitals of Nice and Antioch, were successively taken, and permanently occupied, by the Christian powers: from the barrier of the Hellespont, guarded only by the feeble and effeminate Greeks, the frontier of Christendom was advanced once more to the line of the Euphrates; where the Latin principalities of Antioch and Edessa opposed, the latter, for the space of above half a century, the former, for more than one hundred and seventy years, a successful resistance to the utmost efforts of the Turks.

But these pregnant and permanent results formed a part only of the great political consequences, which emanated immediately from the first holy war. While the crash of the Latin whirlwind swept onward into Mesopotamia ‡, the wily Alexius, following in its train, recovered and re-occupied the neighbouring cities and pro-

* "The four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo, were the only relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria." Decl. and Fall, vol. xi. p. 90.

† Rev. ix. 14. compare sect. iii.

‡ "All Europe, torne up from the foundation, seemed ready to precipitate itself in one united body upon Asia." Anna Comnena, ap. Robertson, Hist. Charles V. vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

vinces of Asia Minor* ; cities and provinces, which, torn from the Greek empire, had become the nucleus of the growing empire of the Turks : according to the accurate statements of Mr. Gibbon, Nice, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, together with the islands of Rhodes and Chios (the keys of the Archipelago), were re-annexed to the empire of the Greeks ; “ which Alexius enlarged, from the Hellespont, to the banks of the Meander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia.”—“ The churches resumed their splendour, the towns were restored and *fortified*, and the desert country was peopled with colonies of Christians.” Raised once more from a name to a reality, the eastern empire still continued to gain strength, and territory, with the progress of the holy wars. On the death of Bohemond, the first Latin prince of Antioch, “ the cities of Tarsus and Malmistra were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia, they possessed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian dynasty of Roum was separated on all sides *from the sea, and their Mussulman brethren* ; the power of the Sultans was shaken by the vic-

* “ His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice ; and *from this threatening station*, the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople.” Decl. and Fall, vol. xi. p. 101.

tories, and even the defeats, of the Franks ; and, after the loss of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, *an obscure and inland town, above three hundred miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, AND THE FIRST CRUSADE PREVENTED THE FALL OF THE DECLINING EMPIRE.*" *

In other words, over and above the formidable obstacles to Turkish aggression interposed by the erection of three Latin kingdoms in the East, — by Mr. Gibbon's own representation of

* Mr. Gibbon admits the important fact, that, by the timely interposition of the first crusade, Constantinople, the last barrier of the west, was saved from the grasp of the Turks ; and Europe, consequently, from the peril, in the eleventh century, of a Turkish invasion. Mr. Turner, with a far more comprehensive view, has drawn attention, not merely to the fact itself, but to the extraordinary concurrence of the remedy with the evil :— " That a Turkish crusade was about to assault the eastern frontier of Europe, when the Christian crusade commenced, *has not been sufficiently remarked.* But that, for its effective counteraction, so ardent and so immediate a union of mind, among a body so disjointed and discordant as the kings of Europe, for an object so remote and difficult, and then so little affecting their personal interests, SHOULD YET ARISE AT THE PRECISE PERIOD WHICH WAS MOST IMPORTANT TO CHRISTIANITY, was a concurrence of *an evil, and its remedy*, which must arrest the attention, and excite the meditation, of the impartial philosopher." Hist. Eng. M.A. vol. i. p. 314, 315.

Let the views taken by the two historians be candidly compared ; and it will be seen, whether the sceptic, or the Christian, makes the truer political philosopher. Coincidences of this nature, which must for ever baffle and confound the speculations of scepticism, are among the phenomena of history which most triumphantly declare and vindicate the agency of a providence in the affairs of men.

facts, it further appears, that, from a state of actual dismemberment, and approaching dissolution, the Greek empire itself was, through the political operation of the first, and of the following crusades, reinstated in a posture of defence, and restored to the undisturbed possession of an extent of territory, which enabled its sovereigns, after the final passing away of the Latin power, to maintain the outwork of the Hellespont, and protract the fall of Constantinople, till the fatal year fourteen hundred and fifty-two. The political value of this respite has been long felt and acknowledged: as Europe was situated in the eleventh and two succeeding centuries, human means could have availed her nothing, had Constantinople and the Hellespont been overpast; as Europe was constituted in the fifteenth century, the event has shown, she had nothing to fear even from the arms of Mahomet II.*

* In another place of this work (Vol. I. p. 200.), we have stated the undeviating aim of the Turkish power, from its earliest beginnings, to effect the destruction of the Greek empire, and the capture of Constantinople. For the inference there drawn from general evidence, the author has since found specific confirmation, from a native authority; the life of the celebrated Saladin, by his friend and minister, Bohadin Ebn Sjeddad. In this contemporaneous history, the final aim of the Turkish conquests, at so early a period as the close of the twelfth century, is most distinctly avowed; speaking of an epistle addressed to Saladin, by the Greek emperor Isaac Comnenus, Bohadin heads the chapter with the following

It is clear, therefore, that, in the judgment which he has pronounced on the original policy of the crusades, Mr. Gibbon has not been perfectly consistent with himself: on the contrary, however mingled with inferior motives, the provident sagacity of the popes, and of the European princes, in assembling means equal to the emergency of the crisis, and in providing for self-defence by a grand and successful plan of offensive warfare, stands triumphantly vindicated, by the historian's own statements in one chapter of his work, from the aspersions which he has thought proper to cast upon it in another. And, whatever may be the result of inquiry into the more general effects resulting from those holy wars, we may at least fearlessly affirm their prospective *policy*, as measures necessary, and effectual, for the defence of Christendom.

2. But the vindication of the sound policy of these expeditions, is one important step gained

emphatic words, — converting the ordinary title, into a solemn prayer, for the deliverance of Constantinople into the hands of the Mussulmans : —

ذکر کتاب وصل من قسطنطنیة
یسر الله فتحا

The account of a letter brought from Constantinople :
May God smooth the way to its overthrow !

Vita Saladini, cap. lxxv. p. 129.

towards the establishment of their ulterior beneficial consequences : since security and independence are essential preliminaries to the improvement and prosperity of nations. On this question, however, we are again at issue with the author of the *Decline and Fall*, who has recorded it as his opinion, that the holy wars “have checked rather than forwarded the maturity of Europe.” In support of so bold a judgment, the historian of the empire has next indulged himself in a pleasing vision, of the already incipient progress and prosperity of the West ; of the more profitable employment, in the improvement of their native soil, of the lives and labours of millions which were idly buried in the East ; of the natural overflow, through the channels of trade and navigation, of the accumulated stock of European wealth and industry ; and of the redundant measure in which “the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the climates of the East.” The dream is altogether a very pleasing one ; so pleasing, that we cannot but feel sorry it should be abruptly interrupted : the stern voice of reality, however, here breaks in upon the historian’s slumber, to awaken him amidst the discordant clangours of the Turkish attabals and cymbals ! While Mr. Gibbon thus

ingeniously gives play to his fancy, and addresses himself, not to the reason, but to the imagination of his readers, — with ideal prospects of *what Europe might have become*, but for the crusades ; we may venture to propose a still more pressing subject of inquiry, namely, *What would have become of Christian Europe*, but for the crusades ? The inquiry has been already answered : by every species of evidence it has appeared, that the crusades supplied the only sufficient means to save western, from sharing the fate of eastern, Christendom ; to prevent Mahometanism, in the hands of the ignorant and brutal Turks, from barbarizing the world.

From Mr. Gibbon's *assertion* of the negative, or even hurtful, operation of the holy wars, upon the growing maturity of Europe, we will pass, in the next place, to the examination of his *proofs* : for no slight body of proof, assuredly, are we entitled to demand at the hands of the writer, who shall undertake to show, that the authors of the crusades can, in no sense, be justly numbered among the benefactors of modern Europe ; and that these expeditions had absolutely no material share in that general improvement of the European nations, whose greatest increase, and most rapid advances, yet so strangely

coincided with the period, and agency in the world, of the holy wars.*

Now the only ground of proof on which our author founds himself, lies in the fact of the *prior* existence and operation, within the European system, of the seeds and elements of civilization : “ About the eleventh century, the tide of civilization which had so long ebbcd, began to flow with a steady and accelerated course ; and a fairer prospect was opened to the hopes and efforts of the rising generation.”

I cheerfully accept this statement of an historical fact, which is no less important and interesting, than it is undoubted ; not indeed as either proving, or disproving, the influence of the crusades, but because the fact alleged opens our way to still larger and more comprehensive conclusions.

In this particular field of inquiry, Mr. Gibbon apparently takes credit to himself, for having advanced his researches so far beyond his predecessors : our cause of complaint against him, however, is, not that he has gone so far, but that he has not gone further : for what, we may now ask, was the origin of the whole infant improvement, which preceded the era of the wars in

* “ Great was the increase, and rapid the progress, during the two hundred years of the crusades,” Decl. and Fall, vol. xi. p. 292.

Palestine? By an irrefragable mass of evidence it can be *demonstrated*, that the nations of Christian Europe owed those first glimmerings of light, — “dawnings of beams, and promises of day,” — to *the Saracens of Spain* *: it was, as we have already intimated †, and shall hereafter more fully show, by their intercourse with the Spanish Saracens, that the master-spirits of the middle ages caught those sparks of science, which were one day to kindle into flame; it was through the same channel, that, by adventurers of another class, arts, commerce, and manufactures, began gradually to be introduced: the result, therefore, of the sceptical historian’s *discovery* of an incipient growth of European civilization, preceding the age of the crusades, when these beginnings are traced to their unquestionable source, leads the Christian inquirer only a step further in the elucidation of the wonderful arrangements of Divine Providence, for the fulfilment of the sure word and promises of HIM, “which keepeth covenant to a thousand generations.” For here, the prophetic struggle between Isaac and Ishmael, the grand providential action and reaction of Christianity and Mahometanism, is once more brought to a point: the original holy wars of the Saracens first im-

* See sections xii. xiii.

† Introduction.

ported into the European system, those seminal principles of national advancement and civilization, which were eventually unfolded and perfected by the Christian crusades.

“Some philosophers,” the Roman historian sarcastically remarks, “have applauded the propitious influence of these holy wars :” — we shall hereafter investigate the ample vouchers which establish the soundness of the opinion : but, in now re-asserting it, the present writer has the satisfaction to state, that this view of the subject seems, in the nineteenth century, to be confirmed by the results of philosophical inquiry throughout Europe.

Both on the question of the original policy of the crusades, and on that of their general consequences, a revulsion has at length taken place : and the opinions of Doctor Robertson on the former subject, and of Mr. Gibbon on both, appear, in the present day, to have fallen into merited disrepute. Upon the question of *consequences*, in particular, not only Christian, but even sceptical inquirers*, have contributed to expose the crude speculations of the historian of the Roman empire, by opening the eyes of the reflecting portion of society, to a full view of

* In this class, the author is obliged to place the learned Oelsner ; who too often uses the language of a *Philosophe*, and pupil of the Revolution.

the undeniable facts, connected with the history of the holy wars.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, France had no sooner recovered the first shock of the revolution, than she set the example of renewed and enlarged inquiry into the history and institutions of the European polity ; but especially into the effects, on the formation of that polity, of two great movements, the reformation, and the crusades. The example thus shown by France, England has since emulously, and still more effectually, followed.

On the subject of the crusades, the result of inquiry has been the same in both countries: their political philosophers are agreed in the admission, that the Christian expeditions to Palestine have been doubly instrumental to the civil and intellectual advancement of Christendom: 1. by their ascertained action upon the internal state of Europe ; and, 2. by their well-timed operation in checking, during a momentous crisis of more than three centuries, the military career of the Turks, — while, during this respite from Turkish invasion, they introduced at home, in the arts of peace, the best sinews of war, — the commerce, science, and civilization, then so prosperous in the Mahometan world.

Having adverted thus far to more recent re-

searches into the influence of the holy wars, we may, for the present, rest satisfied with a general statement of their result : it will be the object of the two following sections to verify this statement, by a circumstantial comparison of Christianity and Mahometanism, in their whole civil and mental influences on mankind.

In the judgment, therefore, which Mr. Gibbon has pronounced upon *the consequences* of the holy wars, as connected, or rather as unconnected, with the improvement of Europe, this distinguished writer has not been more fortunate, than in his low estimate of their political character : — a character alike important to the statesman and the soldier : — as military operations upon a vast scale ; suited to the prevailing notions and spirit of the times ; put in motion to meet an unparalleled emergency ; and at once competent, and essential, to *the permanent defence of the West*.

It were injustice, however, to lay to the charge of this author, a total denial of “ the propitious influence of the crusades : ” *one class of direct consequences*, he has acknowledged as their legitimate offspring ; although, with short-sighted perspicacity, it is acknowledged only to be deplored ; — consequences, for which, at least all *Protestant* churches and states of Europe will gladly and gratefully confess their obligation ; namely, that salutary mass of abuses, which, by

bringing to its height the antichristian tyranny of Rome, prepared the way for the rise and progress of the reformation : — “ The belief of the catholics,” says Mr. Gibbon, “ was corrupted by new legends, their practice by new superstitions ; and *the establishment of the inquisition, the mendicant orders of monks and friars, the last abuse of indulgences, and the final progress of idolatry,* flowed from the baleful fountain of the holy wars.” For, while a comfortless scepticism can discern only evils, without reference to the compensatory good of which they are so often productive, the Christian philosopher will carry his eye beyond those waters of bitterness, to the purified and healing streams which have risen from them ; and will see and own the weakness and wickedness of man, only the more fully to perceive, and the more humbly to adore, the unsearchable wisdom, and the almighty power, of God.

A short review of the policy and effects of the crusades was, in the first instance, required, in order to clear them from the unfounded imputations, which Doctor Robertson and Mr. Gibbon had united in attaching to them. But the inquiry thus far instituted, belongs also immediately to our general subject : since, from the providential character of the holy wars, the transition is direct, to the grand providential

connection between Christianity and Mahometanism.

It has been already stated, that the Christian expeditions into Asia were only the natural and needful reaction of the primitive irruption of the Saracens into Europe ; the propagation of religion by the sword, on the one side, suggesting, eventually, the defence of religion and freedom with the sword, on the other. And, whatever condemnation attaches to the principle, thus much is certain, that to Mahometanism, and *not* to Christianity, belongs the merit of its first application.

But, in both religious warfares, we trace several of those marks, which are usually found to attend and characterize occurrences eminently providential : — the singular concurrence of each of these extraordinary movements, with the circumstances and exigencies of the times in which they successively took place ; the mutual counteraction afforded by their geographical positions, and the nicely-balanced opposition of the East to the West ; the common rise of the rival sacred wars, from the eastern and the western heads of antichrist ; their parallel origin in ages of ignorance and barbarity, and their parallel issue in the production of ages of light and civilization ; — these, with sundry similar characteristics,

unite to link together the wars of the cross and of the crescent, as events providentially permitted and adjusted, at once for the punishment, and for the improvement of mankind : for punishment, as immediate chastisements of heretical pravity, and of moral corruption ; for improvement, by the intercourse which they respectively opened, and the communications which, through so many centuries, they reciprocally maintained, between the most diverse nations, and most remote quarters of the earth.

Thus, following the progress of these great events, contemplated as parts of the great providential administration of the world, we ascend, in the natural order of things, from the Saracenic and Latin holy wars, to Christianity and Mahometanism, the two religious systems from whose collision they arose ; from Christianity and Mahometanism, again, to their respective sources, the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael, — and to the prophetic opposition between these brethren ; and from Isaac and Ishmael, lastly, to the original two-fold covenant of God, with Abraham his servant.

But the providential connection between the first Mahometan sacred wars, and the crusades, which seems apparent on a general view of the two great events, can be verified more fully by

an appeal to the history of the whole period. For, while modern Europe is confessedly indebted to her holy wars, for the general diffusion of science and civilization, the crusades themselves not only owed their origin to the primitive Saracenic irruption, but also their whole beneficial consequences, to the previously existing Saracenic lights. In other words, Mahometanism, through the Saracens, replanted in the world those seeds of knowledge, and elements of civilization, which Christianity, through the instrumentality of the crusades, brought to their full maturity and perfection.

Now, when those prime causes of the regeneration of Europe, thus indissolubly associated in the history of their effects, can be traced, for their common origin, to the one scriptural source, there would appear to be nothing deficient in the proof which we proposed to deduce, of their *designed* providential connection. History will here take her proper place, as the handmaid of prophecy, while she enables us to connect the progress of civil society, and the advancement of the human mind, in every age and country, with the blessing pronounced on Abraham and his descendants; through whom, in the progressive action and reaction of the grand prophetic conflict between the families of Isaac

and Ishmael, the flame of science was thus twice rekindled by the torch of war.

It is the just and original remark of an able writer of the present day, that the crusades are “a phenomenon perfectly analogous to the early history of the Saracens :”^{*}—the analogy is probably more close and extensive, than may have been contemplated by the author of this observation[†]; but its merit, as an incidental reach of historical sagacity, will be enhanced by our purposed examination of the chain of related circumstances and events, which bind together the two movements, as a leading branch of the parallel between the religious polities from which they sprung.

The rise of the sacred wars of the Saracens is matter of easy explanation; for Mahometanism, from its earliest date, was announced to the world as a religion of war; and the propagation of the Koran, by the sword, was its favourite and fundamental doctrine. We contemplate, therefore, only the natural course of things, when we find the professors of a warlike creed, acting conformably with its precepts, and aiming

^{*} Turner.

[†] The parallel character of the two movements appears in every stage of their progress, and in different quarters of the world. M. de Marlès incidentally notices this branch of the correspondence between Popery and Mahometanism, as observable in the history of the Spanish Arabs. See *Hist. de la Dom. des Arabes en Espagne*, tom. i. p. 261.

at universal conquest and dominion. The growth of the crusades, on the contrary, demanded and implied a strange and total perversion of Christianity; since they were directly opposed to the laws, and to the spirit, of this divine revelation. For the Gospel was first announced by its heavenly Author, as the religion of peace; and the spirit of peace which characterized its primitive announcement, was the proper instrument for its eventual establishment throughout the world. That Islamism, therefore, should assail Christianity, that the spiritual offspring of Ishmael should lift up the hand against the spiritual posterity of Isaac, was matter only of reasonable anticipation. But, on an antecedent view of the subject, it was beyond all human reckoning, that two creeds, so oppositely constituted, should, nevertheless, in the event, be brought into hostile collision with each other, not merely in their political relations, but as antagonist systems of faith. The religion of the sword, indeed, exercised only its assumed prerogative, in persecuting the religion of peace: but the religion of peace could become, in its turn, the assailant, only through an intermediate process, which should convert it, also, into a religion of the sword.

In the councils, accordingly, of His permissive providence, who alone can make present evil sub-

servient to future good, there was, as events have wonderfully shown, a provision in reserve, to effect this needful transmutation. At the very moment in which the antichristian heresy of Mahomet raised its hydra head in the east, a rival antichristian power, also foretold by prophecy, that of Papal Rome, erected its tyranny in the west. * And while, consonantly with the early maturity of the climate which gave him birth, the eastern antichrist sprang up quickly to the full measure of his stature, — the western, on the other hand, with slow but sure progress, gradually advanced towards the attainment of a settled and confirmed strength, which, when the time of trial came, presented him ready and equal to encounter the deadly hostility of his formidable opponent.

The papal tyranny, which, fortunately at once, and unhappily, for Christendom, thus sprang into contemporary being with that of Mahomet, from the corruptions of the western church, — had, in the course of about five hundred years, effectually converted the peaceful kingdom of Christ Jesus, into a kingdom of the sword. †

Such were the relative postures of Christianity

* Compare sect. ii. iii. x.

† Bishops and abbots, cardinals and popes themselves, appeared in arms in the field.

and Mahometanism, towards the expiration of the eleventh century ; an era of history pregnant with new calamity to Christendom, and to the world. At this awful epoch, a fresh race of martial fanatics, the barbarous Turks, had just replaced the Saracens, whose empire they had overthrown, in the command and direction of the united Mussulman powers. In the year of our Lord one thousand and sixty-three, they first passed the Euphrates ; and in less than twenty years from their first irruption, they had rendered themselves permanently masters of the Lesser Asia, to the shores opposite Europe and Constantinople. The exhaustless numbers, the constitutional bravery, the brutal ignorance, and the devoted zeal, of these newly-proselyted champions of Islamism, have been drawn, by an historian of our own times, with most just and powerful discrimination.* The national character of the Turks was rendered still more formidable, by the unity of aim, the inflexibility of purpose, and the spirit of implicit obedience, for which it was remarkable : qualities which essentially distinguish those fierce barbarians, from their predecessors the Saracens ; and which were now blindly devoted to the one object, the uni-

* Turner, Hist. Eng. M.A.

versal propagation, by force of arms, of their recently-adopted faith.

In the prosecution of this object, Mahmoud, Sultan of Gazna, had, in the tenth century, carried conquest and proselytism among the idolatrous nations of the East, to the heart of the peninsula of India. In the opposite quarter, in the eleventh century, the princes of the house of Seljuk prepared, with emulous zeal, to spread the empire and faith of Mahomet, among the unbelieving nations of the West : “ If the princes of the West,” observes Mr. Turner, “ had not been stimulated to oppose their united forces to this aggression, the same valour and strength, which had conquered Asia Minor, and led the Turks to the Hellespont, would have soon conducted them into the heart of Europe.”

But Europe was providentially prepared for their reception. The rival antichrist of the West, the tyranny of papal Rome, which arose simultaneously with Mahometanism, had, in the eleventh century, attained its height. A tribunal was now erected in the minds of men, to which even the divisions and distractions inseparable from the feudal system became amenable. And a confederacy, which, in that barbarous age, could have been effected neither by the dictates of policy, nor by the instinct of self-preservation,

was, through the mercy of Providence, formed and put in motion by the power of superstition. On the near approach of the Turks, the summons of the Roman pontiffs united Europe in arms against the common enemy ; the chivalry of Gaul and Britain, of Italy and Germany, as with one heart and with one hand, fought the great battle of faith and freedom ; and the ruin of Christendom was averted by the crusades.

Nor is it only in the critical and successful application of a remedy so extraordinary, to so extraordinary an evil, that we may here discern the special agency of Providence : this agency is equally observable on a comparison of the sacred wars of Christianity and Mahometanism, with reference to the parallel and peculiar exigencies of the periods, which gave birth, in succession, to these alternate movements.

We have elsewhere shown *, that the Saracenic irruption burst forth in an age, in which, both in the East and in the West, the intellectual, no less than the moral and spiritual influences of the Christian religion, seemed irretrievably lost, between the hair-splitting heresies of the Greek, and the barbarous ignorance of the Latin, churches. Just at this point of time, the Saracens, animated by the fervours of a newly-

* Introduction.

kindled fanaticism, were permitted, indeed, to overwhelm eastern Christianity: but, as results have largely proved, they were permitted to do this, only that they might become themselves the benefactors of the whole Christian world, by the office which they eventually discharged, as restorers of the human mind, and as the authors of the first great revival of knowledge.

Now, by an extraordinary reciprocation, the reaction of the crusades fell, in its turn, upon Mahometanism, at a period when its mental influence was also in the act of passing altogether away: for the empire of the Saracens had now finally fallen into the hands of a people, whose brute natures soon effected a triumph over the genius of their adopted religion; and Mahometanism, which, through the instrumentality of its Arabian promulgators, had been a source of almost every kind of civil and social improvement, was destined to degenerate, under the iron rule of the Turks, into a barbarous and brutifying superstition: wherever the Saracens penetrated, they introduced science and civilization; wherever, on the other hand, the Turks have appeared, they have deluged the subject nations with ignorance and barbarity. Who, then, that acknowledges the existence of a Providence, can fail to own and admire the disposal which provided, that, in

the very hour in which the empire of the Mahometan world had passed to these hereditary barbarians, — and not before, — a simultaneous movement of the European nations, the only common enterprize they ever engaged in, should have taken place; that the unparalleled confederacy of the crusades should have interposed, to prevent the Turks from proselyting and barbarizing the world? It is indeed true, that, like the primitive wars of the Saracens, the wars of the cross were prosecuted under the impulse, and in the spirit, of a blind and untutored fanaticism; but it is equally certain, that, like the Saracen wars, they also became, chiefly in virtue of the contact which they produced with Mahometan civilization*, the grand instruments of the renovation of Catholic Europe.

From the unity of the ends attained by the Saracenic and Christian sacred wars,† and the proof thence arising of their common provi-

* Even under the Turkish yoke, the Saracen empire long preserved its superior civilization. Mr. Gibbon seems to have given the true account of this phenomenon: "In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the light and splendour of Asia may be ascribed to the *docility*, rather than the *knowledge*, of its Turkish conquerors." Decl. and Fall, vol. x. p. 367.

† So Mahometan writers entitle all expeditions against Christian powers: M. Condé cites an Arabic history, composed by Abdalla Ali Ebn Abderahman of Granada, "Sur la Guerre Sainte, c'est-à-dire, *les expéditions contre les Chrétiens*." See Hist. de la Dom. des Arabes en Espagne, tom. i. p. 22.

dential origin, we return to compare the circumstances which immediately prepared the way for both movements : for, in each instance, the train of preparatory circumstances is as peculiar, as the movements themselves were unprecedented.

The favourable concurrence, in the case of Mahomet, of the time and place of his appearance, the condition of Arabia, and the state of the world, — circumstances which all united to promote the success of his imposture, — has been already fully established *, both by examination of facts, and by the admissions of writers from whose arguments, the author, however reluctantly, has found himself compelled to dissent ; — pursuing a different path, for the attainment of the same end, the defence of our common Christianity.

It remains to be shown, that the posture of affairs, and the union of seemingly fortuitous and unconnected circumstances, which produced the crusades, were equally extraordinary ; and equally favoured the rise and success of these gigantic enterprizes.

In the tenth century of the Christian era, a strange imagination, unaccountably seized upon the minds of men. The misinterpretation of a deeply-mysterious prophecy, casually broached,

* Introduction.

and disseminated over Europe, in that credulous and barbarous age, drew all the European nations into the persuasion, that the end of the world was to synchronize with the year of our Lord one thousand. This notion of the near approach of the millenium, or reign of the saints on earth, thus wildly taken up in the tenth century, peopled Palestine, in the eleventh, with terrified pilgrims from all parts of Europe.* Now, so it fell out, that this unprecedented influx of the Latins, coincided with the first grand irruption of the Turks; whose atrocious cruelties to the Christian pilgrims is universally acknowledged to have been the immediate cause of the first crusade: since, were it not for the general sympathy and indignation, awakened by the discovery and disclosure of their savage enormities, — the Pope, the Greek Emperor, and the urgency of the political crisis, might have pleaded in vain, to the dull apprehension of the then barbarous Latins. Accordingly, Gregory the Seventh, in the plenitude of his power, had failed in the design of arming Europe against Asia; which was accomplished by his far less-gifted successor, Urban the Second, while an anti-pope held possession of the better half of Rome.†

* Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* vol. i. p. 26, 27. Turner, *Hist. Eng. M. A.* vol. i. p. 317, 318.

† Gibbon, ch. lviii.

To the barbarities inflicted upon the Latin pilgrims, by the new masters of Asia and Palestine*, the eyes of indignant Europe were at length opened†, by one of those instruments which Divine Providence delights in raising up, to confound the intrusion of presumptuous man into the administration of God's world. A lowly and obscure individual dropped the spark upon a train, which, in the explosion, to repeat the forcible expression of one who witnessed the effect, "seemed to hurl all Europe, torn up from the foundations, upon Asia."‡ The temper of an anchorite was that best qualified to feel the insult offered to religion, in the persons of its votaries: the spirit of a soldier was that most likely to form the conception of avenging upon their inhuman agents the sufferings of the Christian pilgrims, and repressing the enemies of God and of religion, by the power of the sword.

* Mr. Gibbon admits that the Turkish kingdom of Roum "barred the pilgrimage of Jerusalem." See vol. xi. p. 57.

† Pope Sylvester II. (the learned pupil of the Spanish Saracens) had been the first to call attention to the sufferings of the *Oriental* Christians: but incentives of a more domestic nature were necessary; and the effort expired in the pathetic appeal to which it gave birth. See Turner, ut supr. vol. i. p. 320, 321.

‡ Anna Comnena. The convulsion is described in a similar style of hyperbole, by a Latin ecclesiastic of the time: "*In hujusmodi expeditionem totus fervet, totus concutitur, vel potius transformari videbatur mundus.*" Ekkehard, Abbat. Libellus, ap. Martene et Durand, tom. v. p. 517.

Both characters were united, in the author of the first crusade.

Peter of Amiens, commonly called the hermit, had passed from the service of the Counts of Boulogne, into that of the church, and exchanged the military for the ecclesiastical habit : after the manner of the times, he undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, it is said, in order to expiate some errors of his youth. Gifted with a quick sensibility, with fine natural parts, and with strong and lively impressions of religion, this generous enthusiast seemed formed to sympathize with the distresses of his fellow-sufferers, in the afflicting scenes which were then transacting in Palestine.* But Peter united the force and intelligence of a powerful mind, with the sympathies of a feeling heart : “ He burnt,” says Mr. Turner, “ with indignation at what he saw and heard :” but he heard and saw the greatness of the evil, only to devise a commensurate remedy. “ His own emotions,” observes this truly philosophical historian, “ were evidence that his countrymen would feel as he did ; and the vast

* The abbot Ekkehard paints with indignant pathos the woes of the Christians in the holy land, and the desolation of *all* the eastern churches : — “ *quas gens ferocissima Turcorum, per aliquot annos (he describes this tyranny in the bud) suo subactas dominio, inauditis calamitatibus jamjamque deleverat.*” ap. Martene et Durand, ut supr. p. 514.

conception arose to his mind, of all Europe marching to relieve afflicted Asia."

The claims of the hermit of Amiens to that immortality, which history has conferred upon him as the author of the holy wars, have been variously rated, according to the principles or prejudices of the writers, who have treated of those expeditions. In the eyes of one eminent historian, Peter appears to merit no more appropriate distinction, than the contemptuous appellations of "a fanatical monk," and "a martial apostle*;" in the judgment of another, he is deserving only of the character of "a rustic enthusiast†," a sort of visionary madman; while, in the estimate of writers of a later and better school, this extraordinary instrument of the deliverance of Asia, and the preservation of Europe, deservedly retains the celebrity which he had acquired for his name, no less by the genius which originated, than by the generosity of heart which impelled him to execute, his sublime conception. ⁵

* Gibbon.

† Robertson. The tone and style of expression adopted by Doctor Robertson, when he mentions or alludes to the hermit, are to me far more disagreeable than the bolder epithets applied to Peter by Mr. Gibbon: the latter historian saw and felt the native genius of the hermit; the former manifestly wrote under the contracting influence of an unphilosophical, and even vulgar, prejudice.

Amidst so many, and so conflicting opinions, it may seem difficult to ascertain the true merits of the case: the question may, however, be brought to a short issue, by the statement of a single fact; namely, that the conception, by Peter the hermit, of the first crusade, is the only parallel in the history of the world for the original conception of Mahomet, and for the portentous effort of human genius which gave birth to Mahometanism. The lofty genius of the Arabian impostor has been most justly celebrated by the same eloquence, which has, with a brave inconsistency, branded, as the offspring of mere fanaticism or frenzy, the equally sublime project of the humble monk, whose voice awakened Christendom to arms. And whence this partial estimate? Why thus withhold from the project of the Christian pilgrim, the meed of praise, so profusely lavished on the scheme of the eastern false prophet? Is it *because* the character of Peter was unstained by those base and brutal passions, so deplorably ingrained in the character of Mahomet? Is it *because* the motives of the one, were unalloyed by the taint of that selfish and sanguinary ambition, which, in the end, poisoned every better motive, that in the earlier stages of his career, may have operated with the other? Is it, in fine, *because* Peter stood forth

the most successful political champion that ever defended, — as Mahomet had approved himself the most formidable adversary that ever assailed, — the cause of Christianity? Whatever may be the answer to these natural inquiries, the conclusion suggested by the facts of the two cases is sufficiently clear and plain: both conceptions were alike products of inventive genius; with this difference only, that the genius of the daring fugitive of Mecca aspired, through a sanguinary career of conquest, to perpetuate his name as the founder of a universal religion, and to erect the throne of his ambition upon the ruins of a subjugated world; while, on the other hand, the pilgrim-soldier of the cross, coveting neither earthly honour nor reward*, aimed but to promote, according to the best lights and notions of his age, the good of mankind, and the glory of God.

But the parallel between Mahomet and the hermit Peter, is not confined to their resemblance in the conception of the vast religious warfares to which they severally gave rise: it may be further strengthened, by some features

* “ He spoke as he felt, and he had seen what he described. His own emotions roused consenting sympathies in all whom he addressed. From the palaces, he went to the villages and towns; the people crowded to hear him; and an universal eagerness to undertake the daring adventure, was *his triumph and his reward*.” Turner, vol. i. p. 323. Compare William of Tyre, p. 637. 639. and Guibert, l. 2.

of similitude, which serve—to enlarge the idea of their relation to each other, as analogous instruments of providence; to illustrate more fully the notion of a pre-ordained connection between the Mahometan and the Christian sacred wars; and to re-conduct us, through the medium of this particular analogy, to our great first principle,—the original covenants with Abraham, and the prophetic connection and rivalry of his two sons.

As founders of the two opposed religious wars, it cannot be questioned that the author of Mahometanism, and the author of the crusades, were providential instruments of *the same kind*: on a further comparison, we shall find them to stand historically related to one another, in the following respects:—

1. Mahomet and Peter alike appeared in the character of *religious solitaries*; and alike first presented themselves to public attention, in their ecclesiastical capacity. 2. Each of those leaders of nations arose *in a dark and unsettled age*, and addressed his appeal to *an ignorant and barbarous people*. 3. Each called *the secular sword* to the service of *religion*, and proved successful in its use. 4. The one hurled *united Asia upon Europe*, in the prosecution of a war of religion; the other precipitated *united Europe upon Asia*, in a counter-religious warfare, and re-

pelled the attack.* 5. Both joined the *military* to the *ecclesiastical* leadership, and commenced their rival enterprizes at the head of their respective armies. 6. Lastly, the holy wars, which these extraordinary agents successively put in motion, were carried on through many ages, under the heads of the opposed faiths, the caliphs and the Roman pontiffs; and, beginning alike in ignorance and barbarity, became alike, eventually, the great restorers of knowledge, and the universal benefactors of mankind.

This sketch of the analogy which subsists between the originators of the opposed movements, naturally induces some further inquiry into that historical parallel subsisting between the hostile armaments themselves, which it has in part anticipated. For our present object, it may be enough to point out the analogy of the sacred wars of Islamism and Popery, in a few of its more prominent details, previously to our bringing the present section to its close. The full exhibition of the eventual effects of both enterprizes will form the subject of a separate examination.†

The existence of an historical parallel may be

* “L’Europe entière semblaient vouloir se répandre sur l’Arabie et la Palestine, pour refouler les peuples vers l’Orient.” Hist. des Arabes en Espagne, tom. ii. p. 291. M. de Marlès here assigns the true providential function of the crusades.

† See sections xii, xiii.

summarily ascertained, by a brief comparison of the motives which actuated, the agents who conducted, and the quarters of the world which became the theatre of, this twofold antichristian warfare.

1. If we compare the actuating motives of the two movements, we find, that in both alike, ambition combined with fanaticism to give the first impulse ; which, in both cases, was alike obeyed in the spirit of a blind and devoted zeal. Again, in the conduct of both enterprizes, the professed object was the same, the destruction, namely, of false religion, and the restoration of the worship of the true God ; while, in the pursuit of this common object, both sides equally held it to be not only allowable, but meritorious, both to defend, and to propagate, religion by the sword. From these coinciding principles, there arose, among the Saracens and the crusaders, a corresponding persuasion, that to fight the battles of the faith was the first duty of religion, and the service most acceptable to God. By the rival champions of the crescent and the cross, the field of battle, accordingly, was regarded as consecrated ground ; and, while they combated from similar motives, they anticipated the same reward : Paradise, and the crown of martyrdom, was the reward held out in the Koran, to all

who fell in the cause of Islamism ; and Paradise, and the crown of martyrdom, was likewise the promised and expected recompense of those crusaders, who should die by the hands of the infidels, fighting the battles of the faith. *

2. When we contrast the directing agents, by whom the opposed armaments were levied and put in motion, we obtain fresh materials for the establishment of the historical analogy between the Mahometan and the Papal sacred wars. For, as these wars were themselves antagonist movements of the two great antichristian powers, so were they conducted severally, the one by the acknowledged heads of the eastern, the other by the acknowledged heads of the western, antichrist : the Mahometan popes, as the caliphs were significantly styled even by ecclesiastical writers in the middle ages, acted always as the projectors and prime movers in the holy wars both of the Saracens and of the Turks ; the Roman pontiffs, on the other hand, no less invariably impelled and directed the entire series of the crusades.†

* “ Breve et quodammodo succinctum est consilium nostrum, pro Christo, Christique legibus, — *glorioso mori et vivere æternaliter* :” in this sentence is contained the genuine sense of the times, as expressed in a full council of the crusaders. See Martene et Durand, tom. v. p. 530.

† See M. De Choiseul D'Aillecourt, *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, pp. 83—85, with note 135, for a striking historical coincidence between these antagonist heads of antichrist. On the capture of Antioch,

3. From the common motives which incited, and the kindred agents who prosecuted, the two vast expeditions, we proceed, in the last place, to consider their successive appearance, and eventual collision, upon a common field of action ; the circumstance which brings to a point all their other features of resemblance and providential relation.

The propagation of Islamism, was the general end proposed by the Mahometan sacred wars ; *the defence of Christianity*, was the avowed general object of the crusades ; but a first and favourite project, common to both undertakings, was the design of rescuing JERUSALEM out of the hands of the unbelievers. For, by Christians and Mahometans, in every age, Jerusalem was regarded as the holy city ; the cradle and dwelling-place of the prophets ; the chosen seat of God's temple, and abode of his peculiar presence. On both sides, accordingly, its possession was aimed at, and contended for, on the ground of religious duty ; and the pursuit of this special object, thus necessarily brought the successive

it appears, the pope was formally invited, by the crusading chieftains, to come and put himself at the head of *his own war* ; in the very same manner as, on the eve of their conquest of Jerusalem, the Caliph Omar had been called on, by the primitive Saracens, to assume the command in person, and head the triumph of the true believers. Compare Ockley's History of the Saracens.

movements into contact, upon the same spot, from opposite quarters of the globe. The primitive Moslems sought to wrest Jerusalem from the Greeks, whom they accounted unbelievers ; the crusaders, to effect the deliverance of the holy city from the Turkish infidels. The Saracens, advancing upon Palestine from the heart of Arabia, and the Latins, pressing forward towards it from the extremity of Europe, thus present to the eye the wonderful spectacle, of Isaac and Ishmael, in the persons of their literal and their spiritual descendants, striving together for mastery over the city of God, in the land of Abraham their father.

But it is not in Palestine only, that the prophetic conflict of the sons of Abraham was renewed, through the instrumentality of the Mahometan and Papal holy wars : as we follow the earlier operations of these religious armaments, the historical parallel between them will be found every where *geographically* preserved : thus, the conquest of Syria and Palestine, and the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem, were the common first-fruits of the great battles of Yermuk and Dorylæum, fought at an interval of four hundred and fifty years : and, at subsequent periods of their two-fold progress, Egypt, Western Africa,

and Spain *, were reciprocally occupied, or traversed, by the Saracenic and crusading armies ; whose rival careers may be traced on the map of the ancient world, from the confines of Arabia, to the western extremity of Europe.

The similarity of the two enterprizes, in their original character and design, has been already sufficiently illustrated : it remains to be noticed, that, as the crusades drew towards their close, their resemblance to the wars of Mahometanism became, in every point of view, complete : for the warfare which had been instituted for the defence of Christianity, was now converted, through the agency of the popes, into an engine for the propagation of the Gospel, like that of the Koran, by the power of the sword. This antichristian process commenced, with the crusades set on foot, by Innocent III., for the extirpation of the Waldenses and Albigenses ; it proceeded, in the exploits of the knights of the Teutonic order, from the persecution of heresy, so called, in the south, to the annihilation of paganism in the north of Europe, — by the forcible reduction of the Prussians, and the few remaining adherents of heathenism, to the profession of Christianity, and obedience to

* A. D. 843, 844, Saracen Spain was invaded by the *Normans*. See Des Marès, tom. i. pp. 327, 328. Compare Abulfeda, *Annal. Muslem.* tom. ii. pp. 178, 179, with Reiske's note 168. The Normans were not yet converted to Christianity.

the see of Rome⁶ : an achievement which finally perfected the growing assimilation of the Papal to the Mahometan wars of religion. The national proselytism effected in this truly antichristian spirit was, however, under the control of an over-ruling Providence, signally blest in its eventual results ; which brought Prussia, and the entire north, within the pale of European civilization. *

On the subject of the crusades, we began by stating, that these expeditions were, properly and simply, the re-action of the original Saracenic irruption ; a counterpoise of the same kind with that irruption, and therefore peculiarly adapted to balance its political effects. In the course of our further inquiries, the correctness of this opening statement has been avouched, by the general similarity observable in the character, in the consequences, and in the whole history, of these two astonishing convulsions. Nor is the extent of their historical analogy and correspondence, (although this alone might supersede all ordinary explanations of the phenomena,) the feature which will chiefly occupy reflecting observers : such minds will be more likely to contemplate, in the rise and progress of both religious warfares, those extraordinary concurrences

* See sect. xii.

of *times, instruments, and events*, which almost seem to raise the *historical* parallel, into one sensibly *providential*. The corresponding influence of the two movements, upon the advancement of the human mind, and upon the general revival, over the world, of knowledge and civilization, will, above all other topics of inquiry, claim and repay the attention of the true Christian philosopher.

But, while the eye of the believer surveys this whole wonderful series and connection, his view of the present subject will naturally lead him to ascend as high as history itself can guide him ; and to trace the widely-parted streams of Providence, to their junction at the fountain-head. Now, the most ancient and authoritative record in the world, the first book of Moses, clearly indicates the common source, whence emanated the two opposed religious systems, which gave rise to those two-fold sacred wars ; namely, the patriarch Abraham, through his sons Isaac and Ishmael, the inheritors of two distinct covenants, entered into, by Jehovah, with this father of the faithful. In the terms of the lesser of these covenants, that of Ishmael, was included a prediction of enmities which should subsist between his posterity, and the posterity of his brother Isaac : the prophetic contest between these

brethren, partial and imperfect until the appearance of Mahomet, became, on the first burst of the Saracenic irruption, extended over one entire hemisphere; but it paused upon the confines of the western world, until Europe arose in arms, at the summons of a Christian pilgrim, and poured into the heart of Asia the counter-current of the crusades.

The tide of religious war, which, in the seventh and eighth centuries, had borne the literal descendants of "the son of the bond-woman," from the depths of their native wilderness, over Asia and Africa, to the remotest borders of Europe, — now wafted, in its reflux, the spiritual descendants of "the son of the free-woman," from every quarter of the West, over both continents, into the bosom of the Arabian deserts. Mahometanism, in the former case, persecuted Christianity, Ishmael pursued Isaac, in one direction, from Jerusalem and Antioch, to the walls of Constantinople; in another, from the sources of the Nile, to the pillars of Hercules and the Pyrennees; — crossing, on the progress toward Spain, from the coasts of western Africa to the opposite shores of Italy, and penetrating even to the gates of imperial Rome: — papal Christianity, in the latter case, persecuted Mahometanism, Isaac pursued Ishmael, from the Pyren-

nees to the Straits of Gibraltar, and again, from Mount Atlas to the Nile ; while, in the opposite quarter, this retributive visitation reached from the banks of the Hellespont to those of the Jordan and Euphrates, piercing into the inheritance of Ishmael, even to the walls of Mecca. History has handed down the name of the daring Christian warrior, Arnald, or Reginald, of Chatillon *, who, in the age of Saladin, and of our first Richard, issuing from his fastness on the border of the Arabian desert, “ pillaged the caravans, insulted Mahomet, and threatened the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina.” †

And thus, in the action and re-action of the primitive Mussulman, and of the retributory Papal holy wars, may be traced, historically, the double fulfilment of the twofold prophecy respecting Ishmael, on a scale co-extensive with the Roman world. In the career of Saracen conquest, “ Ishmael raised up his hand against

* For the captivity and death of this formidable chieftain, see Vit. Saladin. pp. 69—71. Bohadin styles him, the Prince Arnadt, (Arnault?)

Lord of Shaubech الشويك. البهنس أرناط صاحب. But, in the hands of Arabian writers, the proper names of the Franks scarcely ever escape mutilation. Similar, and very amusing caricatures of English names and titles, are to be found in the Chronicles of Froissart. They have, not seldom, baffled the ingenuity of Mr. Johnes : e. g. *Assueton*, as the family name of a Scottish knight, he gives up in despair. The readers of “ The Abbot ” will easily recognize, through this disguised patronymic, the war-cry of an illustrious Scottish house, — a Seton ! a Seton !

† Gibbon.

every man :” in the crusades, “ every man raised up his hand against him :” while, by their united operation, this spurious seed of Abraham was brought, in the event, to “ dwell in the presence of *all* his brethren.” For, in these stupendous conflicts, eastern and western Christendom were nearly measured, and re-measured, by the armies of the contending faiths. If the Saracenic inundation overflowed Asia and Africa, Spain, Sicily, and other parts of Europe, — the crusades, on the other hand, laid open and lacerated the Mahometan empire, in almost every part, which, in happier days, had formed an integral portion of Christendom.⁷

I shall close this branch of the subject, with one additional remark : the Mahometan and Papal sacred wars alike commenced, in the seventh and eleventh centuries, with the capture of JERUSALEM ; and they were alike consummated, in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, by the capture of CONSTANTINOPLE.*

* “ A deux époques, célèbres par la renaissance des lettres, Constantinople succombe sous les efforts des ennemis qui l’assiègent ; les désastres de cette ville semblaient être destinés à faire revivre dans une partie du monde, l’art de polir et d’orner l’esprit humain.” De Choiseul D’Aillecourt, p. 166.

SECTION XII.*

ANALOGY BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND MAHOMETANISM,
IN THEIR INFLUENCES ON NATIONAL CHARACTER, AND
CIVILIZATION; ON INDUSTRY, MANUFACTURES, AND
COMMERCE.

“THE progress of Christianity,” observes Mr. Gibbon, “has been marked by two glorious and decisive victories; over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman empire, and over the warlike barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the empire, and embraced the religion of the Romans.”† The observation, if extended to the progress of Mahometanism, will be found to hold eminently true. For the career

* In this, and in the following section, the author will have occasion to draw materials largely from writers, who have treated expressly on this important part of his subject: and, not thinking it desirable to break the connection of the text by numerous references, — he must beg leave to apprise the reader, once for all, of the sources of information chiefly employed: namely, the treatises of MM. Heeren and De Choiseul D'Aillecourt, “*Sur l'Influence des Croisades*,” and that of M. Oelsner, “*Sur les Effets de la Religion de Mohammed*,” together with the highly valuable work of M. Des Marlès, “*Histoire de la Domination des Arabes en Espagne*,” — a work prepared entirely from original Arabic histories of the Spanish Saracens, translated by M. Condé from the MSS. in the Escorial. In addition to these authorities, much use will be made, in the thirteenth section, of the “*Historia Critica Philosophiæ*” of Brucker, and of the publications of Mr. Sharon Turner.

† Decline and Fall, chap. xxxvii. § ii.

of this spurious counterfeit of the Gospel has been distinguished by its double triumph : over the civilized Christianity of the Greek empire ; and over the pagan barbarians of Turquistan and Tartary, who subverted the empire, and embraced the religion, of the Saracens.

Between these parallel triumphs, however, of the Gospel and the Koran, besides the obvious consideration of the opposite means employed, there is this characteristic contrast ; that Christianity overthrew the paganism of the Roman empire, when that empire was at the height of its intellectual and political greatness ; while Mahometanism, on the contrary, did not arise to crush the religion of Christ, in the Greek empire, until that empire was already far gone, in the decay of corrupted civilization.¹

But it is by an impartial survey of their relative effects, on the minds and manners of their *barbarian* proselytes, that we may best learn to estimate the comparative influences of the two religions on the character of nations : inasmuch as the moral potency of any religious system must invariably bear proportion to the depth of the degradation from which it has raised its votaries.

In the important topic immediately before us, namely, the relative influences of Christianity and Mahometanism ON NATIONAL CHARACTER, we

will, therefore, confine our view, chiefly, to the barbarous tribes inhabiting the north of Europe and Asia, who successively received the impress of the Gospel, or the Koran, while still plunged in the depths of heathenism and barbarity ; and who successively emerged, through the influences of their religious belief, into the rank of civilized nations.

The historian of the Roman empire has borne eloquent and unexceptionable testimony, to the happy influences of Christianity, on the character and manners of the barbarians of the north. From their adoption of “ a religion, whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book,” the hordes of Germany and Scythia became necessarily conversant with the use of letters ; “ and while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged, by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society.” From the study of the Scriptures in Gothic or Teutonic versions, the transition is naturally and philosophically traced, through the church services, and through the chain of ecclesiastical tradition, preserved, exclusively, in the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, to the study of the poets, philosophers, and historians, of ancient Greece and Rome. Through the channels thus opened to the northern tribes, by their conver-

sion to Christianity, the salutary, though silent intercourse of mankind with preceding ages, which had stagnated for centuries, was gradually restored. The change effected, by these mental advances, in the moral and political condition of the Christian north, would seem, for the time, to have absolutely charmed down the scepticism of Mr. Gibbon; and happy would it have been, for himself, and for the world, if he had always written thus: — “ The emulation of mankind was encouraged, by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive, to warm and enlighten the mature age of the western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity, the barbarians might learn justice from the law, and mercy from the Gospel; and if the knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions, or to regulate their passions, they were sometimes restrained by conscience, and frequently punished by remorse. But the direct authority of religion was less effectual, than the holy communion which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. The influence of these sentiments contributed to alleviate the horrors of war, and to moderate the insolence of conquest. The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the

clergy ; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of the popes, cemented the union of the Christian republic ; and gradually produced the similar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have distinguished, from the rest of mankind, the independent, and even hostile nations of modern Europe.” *

The conclusion arrived at, then, through this highly philosophical induction, is shortly this, — that modern Europe stands directly indebted, for its admirable system of policy, and advanced state of civilization, to the influences of Christianity on its barbarian proselytes.

Now, the effects of Mahometanism on national character, allowing only for the inferiority necessarily arising from its unspeakably inferior motives, exhibit a wonderful approximation to the happy effects of the Christian religion, as here described by Mr. Gibbon, in raising mankind, from ignorance and barbarism, to knowledge and civilization.

But, what is of peculiar importance to the general subject, this similarity of effects will appear, on examination, to have resulted from

* Decline and Fall, chap. xxxvii. § ii.

a similarity of constitution in the two religions. For the doctrines of Mahometanism, like those of Christianity, are contained in a book accounted sacred. The study of this book, a fundamental duty inseparable from the name and profession of Mussulman, made the use of letters co-extensive with the propagation of the Mahometan faith itself. But the study of the Koran, like that of the Bible, necessarily extended beyond the contents of the volume; and would, on the same principle, insensibly enlarge the minds of its votaries, by opening to them a similar field of research, into the Mahometan history and traditions. The schools of public instruction, primarily established for the advancement of their superstition, in every country occupied by the Saracens, and which, in many parts of their wide possessions, issued in the general restoration and advancement of learning, must, throughout all quarters of their empire, have essentially contributed to abate the ignorance, and soften the natural ferocity, of uncivilized converts.

Let us try these presumptions, by their agreement with facts. The tendency of the religion of Mahomet, in its subsequent progress, to improve the character and condition of the barbarous nations, may be fairly measured, in the first place, by its known influences on barbarism,

at the period of its original promulgation. In Arabia, Mahometanism found the descendants of Ishmael a race of rude and ferocious robbers ; it made, and during five centuries maintained them, one of the most polished and enlightened nations that ever held the empire of the world. In pagan Africa, again, through every age the native soil of incivilization, it transformed the heretofore untractable and untutored Berbers, into a humanized and cultivated people, whose colleges and universities long cherished and diffused those lights of science and good manners, which should one day dispel the barbarian darkness of western Christendom. But it is among the savage hordes of Turquistan and Tartary, the pagan conquerors, as well as converts, of Mahometanism, that the comparison properly lies ; when we speak of effects produced on national character, by this spurious creed, corresponding in kind, if not in degree, with the meliorating influences of Christianity on the Scythian tribes. Constitutionally inferior, in mental capacity, to the invaders of the western empire, the Turks and Tartars, indeed, have never reaped that harvest of national improvement, from their profession of the Mahometan faith, which resulted to the followers of Alaric and Attila, from their conversion to Christianity. Let, however, only

due allowance be made for the proverbially dull and sluggish natures of these Asiatic barbarians,—and Mahometanism, long after the downfall of the empire of the Saracens, will be found to have exercised its softening and civilizing influences on such unpromising converts, in a manner, and to an extent, paralleled and exceeded only by the effects of Christianity, so happily described by Mr. Gibbon, on the character of the barbarians of the North.

For proof of the important coincidence here alleged, between the two religions, I would simply invite the reader to compare the character and court of the great Saladin, with the condition of his pagan forefathers, the Turkmans of Khorazan ; or the savage ferocity of the Tartars, under Genghis Khan and his successors, with the refined and enlightened rule of their Mahometan descendants, the Mogul princes of India. Under both dynasties, the influences of the Koran, like those of the Gospel, contributed to alleviate the horrors of war, and to abate the insolence of conquest. During the period of the crusades, even the Christian princes and nobles of Europe derived improved morals, as well as improved manners, from the irreproachable good faith, the strict justice, and

the chivalrous generosity, of the Turks and Saracens. *

Such have been, in brief, the parallel and reciprocal influences of Christianity and Mahometanism, on national character and manners; effects, as has been already remarked, necessarily resulting from the similarity of character between the original and the copy, between the legitimate and the spurious faith. Nor are other

* By friends and enemies, the illustrious Saladin is borne witness to, as a bright example of the social virtues: his probity and refined courtesy have been often eulogized by the historians of Europe. The author is, however, more struck by a trait of moral tenderness of heart, preserved by the sultan's faithful biographer, than by any of the anecdotes commonly related.

During the siege of Ptolemais, a party of Saracen plunderers, having introduced themselves by stealth among the tents, carried off an infant of three months old, from the camp of the crusaders. The distracted mother flew to the Christian leaders; her cries and tears awakened the commiseration of all; but they bade her be comforted, as she might rely on the compassionate nature of Saladin, to whom they would send her, under an escort, to plead for the restoration of her child. The lady went, accordingly, to the camp of the Turkish sultan, where she was received by the historian Bohadin, and by him conducted to the royal presence. Prostrate at the feet of Saladin, she told her grief: as the sultan heard her, his eyes filled with tears; he commanded instant inquiry after the infant, and, finding he had been already sold, ordered him to be re-purchased at his own cost, and placed the boy in the arms of his mother! Vit. Saladin, cap. xcvi.

Well might the historian of Saladin desire his readers to think upon a compassion, which thus embraced the whole human race; and offer up a prayer, that the God who *made* his beloved master so merciful, would, in like manner, have mercy upon him. — This great man had infused his own spirit into his followers: at the sight of the mother and child reunited, Bohadin adds, that himself, and all present, wept with her.

Compare this touching incident, with the conduct of Cœur de Lion, who subsequently butchered, in cold blood, three thousand of his prisoners before the gates of the same Ptolemais, upon a difference about the payment of their ransom!!

marks wanting, to complete the proof of the corresponding action of the two creeds, on the social system. For Mahometanism, as well as Christianity, has its republic ; the union of which, also, is cemented by like means. The missionary zeal of the Mahometan teachers, answering to that observed by Mr. Gibbon in the Latin clergy ; the Mahometan pilgrimages to Mecca and Jerusalem, corresponding with the Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome ; and the temporal and spiritual authority of the caliphs, analogous to the temporal and spiritual authority of the Roman pontiffs, — “ gradually produced the similar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have distinguished the independent, and even hostile nations ” of modern Asia and Africa. The international jurisprudence of Mahometan states supposes, indeed, a very different kind of social relation, from that implied by the complicated and comprehensive polity of the European system. But the difference, it will be observed, arises, chiefly, out of the immemorial diversity of character between the institutions of Europe and Asia ; a consideration plainly unconnected with the operation of their respective dominant religions ; which, in those points where they can fairly be stated to have had corresponding fields of action, have given birth, each, to a great commonwealth, in manners, laws, and

institutions, as much at unity within itself, as it is distinguishable from every other political community or association.²

The value of this parallel to the general argument, it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, consists in this, — that the effects on national character, here described, spring wholly and exclusively, in both instances, from the operation of religious belief.

As we proceed in the investigation of the analogy between Christianity and Mahometanism, in their civil and social influences, the fact should never be lost sight of, that, for the entire of the discoveries and improvements contributed by the latter, whether in industry, commerce, or intellectual cultivation, to the common fund of human society, the world is primarily indebted to the Saracens, that is, to the proper descendants of Ishmael. It has been correctly remarked, that the Saracen genius, in whatever direction it moved, was imitative rather than inventive.* This trait of national temper eminently qualified the Arabs for their providential office: adopting whatever was useful or profitable in the countries which they successively occupied, they still carried with them, as they pressed on to new conquests, the lights or im-

* Turner.

provements acquired in the old ; until, at length, masters of half the world, they acted on every province of their vast dominions ; and the usages and inventions of Persia, or Syria, or Egypt, came to be naturalized and perfected in Barbary, or in Spain. The seed, by this salutary process, was taken from a worn-out soil, to strike root and flourish in new ground.

The spirit of Saracenic improvement has been well observed to have received its first impulse, from the national taste for AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS : and the foundations of their intellectual, as well as civil proficiency, have been satisfactorily traced to the indigenous fondness of the Arab colonists, in whatever regions they settled, for the cultivation of the soil. Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt, the earliest conquests of the Saracens, were also the primeval seats of husbandry and tillage. Here, accordingly, the native relish of the conquerors for the labours of the field, found immediate exercise, and acquired new force. The practice of agriculture was speedily improved into an art, by observation of the superior skill and industry of the subject nations. In Egypt, the Arabs restored the canal of Cleopatra, which connects the Nile with Alexandria. In the skilfully-watered plains of Persia and Syria, their successful industry increased the power and resources of the state. From these coun-

tries, observes a lively writer *, the Saracens poured forth like those torrents which bear along with them the germs of vegetation, to scatter them in distant lands. The banks of the Oxus, and the borders of the African desert, at this day, equally attest the indefatigable industry of the primitive Saracens ; or of their ingenious and emulous pupils, the Moors. But in no part of their empire, did the agricultural spirit of the Arabs more decisively manifest itself, or make more rapid and persevering advances, than in the Spanish peninsula ; the point of communication with western Christendom.

What is here affirmed of husbandry, may be asserted with equal justice of the progress of Arabian improvement, in all its branches ; namely, that, while it owed its rise, to the Saracens of Asia, it was carried to its perfection, in the Arab kingdom of Spain. This circumstance bears the marks of a dispensation eminently providential : for, to adopt the judicious remark of a reflecting and impartial historian, its geographical position erected this kingdom into a model for the neighbouring states ; and ensured and facilitated the dissemination, throughout Christian Europe, of the lights of Arabian civilization.

The developement of agricultural industry in

* M. De Choiseul D'Aillecourt.

Spain, may be dated from the period of the original conquest and settlement. Under the emirs, its progress was occasionally impeded by the civil feuds, incident to an unsettled form of government, in a remote province; but under the glorious domestic dynasty of the Ommiades, and especially during the long and prosperous reigns of Abderahman III., and Alhakem II. *, the art of husbandry attained a height of perfection, before unknown, and (unless we may except Holland and the Netherlands) since unparalleled in Europe.

The process of irrigation is the first great requisite in agriculture, to improve the fertility, or increase the produce, of the soil. The Spanish Arabs carried on this process to so unlimited an extent, that they may be said to have created a new era in the history of European husbandry. They gave artificial direction to the courses of springs and rivers; collected their waters in spacious reservoirs; or conducted them, by canals, into the heart of every district. Spain, at this day, abounds with the vestiges and monuments of Arabian industry; in the provinces of Granada and Valentia, particularly, the modern traveller is reminded, at every step, of the agri-

* For the reigns, and patriotic labours, of these illustrious princes, see Des Marlès.

cultural skill and enterprize of this indefatigable people; insomuch, that even the pride of the indolent Spaniard is subdued into the confession, that, for the entire of the artificial works still remaining, in the best cultivated districts of the peninsula, Spain stands indebted to the Moors.³

During a wise and splendid reign of fifty years, Abderahman, justly entitled the Great, while he occupied himself in the incessant study and employment of every means, that could create and perpetuate the prosperity of a great nation, directed his daily cares to perfect the already matured proficiency of his subjects in the agricultural art. Applying the ample revenues of the prince for the wise encouragement of the people, this illustrious patriot, at the royal expence, multiplied canals, reservoirs, and aqueducts, wherever the enterprize of the cultivators could be furthered by such artificial aids. The most useful plants and fruit-trees of Asia and Africa were mingled with the products of Europe in the royal gardens,—at once the nurseries and models of the national improvement in cultivation. By these means, many valuable exotics were naturalized; while the introduction of two articles of oriental growth, the cotton plant, and the sugar-cane, first gave that impulse to European art and luxury, and to the spirit, consequently, of commercial enterprize, which issued

eventually, under the Christian powers, who replaced the Saracens in Spain and Portugal, in the opening of a maritime communication between the remotest regions of the old, and in the discovery and settlement of a new, world.

The progress of agricultural industry, thus happily advanced during the long reign of Abderahman, was conducted to its height by his son and successor Alhakem; in whose caliphate, new water-courses every where fertilized the most barren plains. Nor did his beneficial enterprizes here terminate: for while cultivation scaled the sides of mountains, almost to the summit, their bowels were successfully explored for rich and productive mines; and amber, coral, and pearl fisheries, were established along the coasts. So that it became proverbial of this illustrious benefactor of Spain and Europe, that he had transformed the lance and the sword into ploughshares; and metamorphosed the Saracens, from a band of fierce and restless warriors, into a race of peaceful and industrious husbandmen and shepherds.

Among the various articles of produce, which authors have enumerated, as introduced and naturalized, about this period, by the Spanish Arabs, may be noticed, rice, sesame, saffron, henna, ginger, myrrh, the pistachio, the palm-

tree, the banana ; to these may be added, more permanent and staple accessions, the olive, the orange, and, perhaps, the vine.*

The cotton-plant and the sugar-cane, claim a separate mention : for the history of these important fruits of the Saracenic industry in Spain, is integrally connected with the commerce and colonization of the new world. The passage of the sugar-cane, in particular, from Granada to Madeira, and from Madeira to the West Indies, is an authenticated fact, so pregnant in its consequences, that it has changed the history of commerce. Among the native commodities, either now first discovered, or, for the first time since the dominion of the Romans, restored to light, — pearls, ambergris, sulphur, mercury, tin, iron, form a rich catalogue of materials for export or manufacture.

The Spanish caliphs, accordingly, early extended their paternal cares, from the successful encouragement of agricultural industry, to awaken the kindred spirit of commerce and manufacture. Manufactures and commerce had already made large strides, under the fostering protection of Abderahman III. ; whose merchant ships, constructed at the charge of the sovereign, trans-

* Not, of course, by its introduction, but by its restored and improved cultivation : hence, not improbably, the vineyards of France, as well as those of modern Spain and Portugal.

ported, in the tenth century, the products of Spain, into the ports of Egypt and Syria: it was reserved for the second Alhakem, to perfect these promising beginnings, by the construction of numerous roads and bridges, and by the creation, at convenient stations, of commodious inns⁴; improvements, which enlarged and multiplied the facilities of foreign commerce, by laying open fresh and general facilities of internal communication.

The progress of MANUFACTURES, like that of agriculture, kept pace with the career of Saracen conquest and colonization. The various branches of manufacturing industry, acquired in the Greek and Persian empires, passed, with the Arab artisans, into Africa, where they quickly spread and flourished, in the hands of the ingenious Moors: from Africa, again, they were transplanted into Spain, where, like the art of husbandry, already treated of, they also attained their greatest height of perfection. The principal manufactures, introduced or cherished by the Ommiadan princes, consisted in the art of tanning or preparing leather; in the processes of weaving cotton, flax, and hemp; and, above all, in the fabrication of cloths, silk stuffs, and military arms. The manufactories of cloth and steel were, chiefly, in the hands of the Spanish Arabs; the industry

and ingenuity of the Moorish settlers secured to them a monopoly of all the other arts. The cloths of Murcia, fabricated from the native wool, the cotton paper of Salibah, and the silk stuffs of Lisbon, Almeria, and Granada, rose into universal estimation. Such, indeed, was the perfection to which the Moorish artisans carried the processes of weaving and dyeing silks, that the silk-cloths of Granada became celebrated throughout the east, from whence this branch of manufacture had been originally imported ; — insomuch that they proved a lucrative source of commerce, with the ports of Asia Minor and Egypt ; and even in the market of Constantinople. To the ancient and important art of working metals, the Arabs of Spain contributed the valuable inventions of carving and incrusting, and, especially, that of damasking or enamelling, steel : in an age, when war formed almost the exclusive occupation of the surrounding nations, the inimitable temper of the Spanish steel drew the almost exclusive demand of three continents to these manufactories, for the supply of offensive and defensive arms.

The state of things here faithfully represented, after original authorities *, supposes, for its growth and maintenance, a state of more than

* Des Marlès, *passim*.

ordinary domestic tranquillity. The tranquillity of Spain, accordingly, was secured, under the Omniades, by the introduction of a species of control until then unknown in Europe ; that of an effective system of national police.⁵

Amidst these various internal and external sources and safeguards of the public prosperity, the principles of taxation became practically understood and applied ; and the productiveness of the national revenue was proportionably augmented. A tax of one-tenth was imposed on the produce of land ; and the ports of the peninsula were subjected to regular import and export duties. The general prosperity of the nation, at this period, may be estimated by the fact, that Abderahman III. drew, from the single kingdom of Saracen Spain, a revenue of about six millions sterling ; “ a sum,” remarks Mr. Gibbon, “ which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs.”

The ascertained influence of Mahometanism on the advancement of industry, in all its leading branches, may be taken as the index to its beneficial effects on COMMERCE. For proficiency in domestic arts and labours, is the natural and sure introduction to foreign speculations ; and the people which begins with being industrious, will

infallibly end in becoming commercial. In their primitive state, the natives of the Arabian deserts, with the exception of some few tribes bordering on the Red Sea, could not attain the condition of a sea-faring people.* The Saracens, however, in all ages, by a native propensity, were commercial. Inland commerce was the immemorial occupation of the aboriginal Bedoweens. Their camels, they significantly entitled ships of the desert, and land-ships. Carriers of the ancient world, under the successive empires of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, the commerce of the East, especially that between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, was still conducted by the wandering sons of Ishmael.

When conquerors of the East, the Saracens extended, with the growing extent of their empire, their unchangeable national character and customs. Sanctioned and enjoined by the Koran itself, and incorporated with that fundamental law of Mahometanism, the pilgrimage to Mecca, their spirit of inland commerce propagated itself with the conquests and creed of the primitive Mussulmans, to the shores of the Caspian, and to the straits of Gibraltar. The first great effect

* The straits of Babelmandel (*Bab-al-Mandeb, the gate of tears*) owe their name to the notion prevalent among the ante-Mahometan Arabs, that the adventurous voyagers who once passed them, never returned.

of Mahometanism, on the history of commercial enterprize, was, therefore, that of opening what had remained closed since the decline of the Roman empire, and had never, under the sway of imperial Rome herself, been so extensively or effectually opened, — one grand continued route for inland commerce, connecting the remotest extremities of Asia and Europe. As they progressively became masters of the ports and islands, which command the navigation of the Mediterranean sea, or the Indian Ocean, the bold and imitative genius of the Saracens promptly exchanged the practice of inland commerce, for the more adventurous pursuits of naval enterprize.* So rapid and successful was their progress on this new element, that, while, in the west, they acquired, and maintained, for two whole centuries, the exclusive empire of the Mediterranean†; in the east, and to the south, the skill and persevering energy of the Arab navigators

* The commerce of Spain, it must here be remarked, began with the Jewish colonists; and remained in the hands of the Jews for several ages: the fact is a highly interesting one; for it marks a providential connection, of universal benefit to mankind, between the dispersed family of Isaac, and the victorious descendants of Ishmael. See Des Marès, tom. i. pp. 470, 471.

† “Rogatu Michaëlis Imperatoris, conati Veneti classe barbaros ex Insulâ [Siciliâ] pellere, sed frustra, cum longe majores essent navales copiæ Saracenorum.” Thes. Sic. tom. ii. p. 232. ap. Græv. et Gronov. Antiq.

extended commerce, geographical science, and Mahometanism, along coasts hitherto unfrequented, or into countries before unexplored.*

On the side of Europe, the fleets of Egypt and Syria, of Barbary and Spain, visited, during the darkness of the ninth and tenth centuries, alternately in peace and war, the coasts and harbours of Greece and Italy. The neighbourhood of the Saracen kingdom of Sicily, while it roused the slumbering energies of the Italians, by the presence of danger, and the necessity of self-defence, appears to have acted, not less beneficially, on the commercial spirit of the Venetians and Lombards. The yet infant prosperity of the Italian republics, eventually matured and developed by the crusades, derived constant aids and encouragements from their intercourse with the Saracens; whether the enterprizes of the latter operated on their avarice, or on their fears.

In the opposite quarter of the globe, voyaging far beyond the term of their original conquests, the Arabs gradually erected a new kind of empire on an unexampled scale. They extended their geographical discoveries, and established

* "In a short time, they advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation; and brought many of the most precious commodities of the east, directly from the countries which produced them." Robertson's *Historical Disquisition on India*, p. 100.

regular commercial stations along the eastern coast of Africa, as far as Madagascar, and the country of the Caffres. Such, again, was the spirit of adventure, in their coasting voyages round the peninsula of India, that, so early as the eighth century, the Arabs had penetrated into the Chinese seas, and possessed a flourishing factory at Canton. The progress of their language, and, to a great degree, that of their religion, corresponded with the extension of their commerce in the East, which actually united, by a continued chain of factories and settlements, Ormuz and Canton ; the Persian Gulph with the Chinese Ocean. In the course of these commercial voyages, by a singular concurrence of circumstances, Christianity itself was introduced, under the shield of Mahometanism, both in India and China. By long practice and experience on these coasts, encouraged in adventuring more to sea, Mahometan commerce in the Indian Ocean carried its enterprizes as far as the Maldives and Moluccas. But, on this element, their ignorance of the mariner's compass, and their consequent deficiency in nautical skill, confined the adventures of the Saracens, with rare and limited exceptions, to the neighbourhood of the coasts : so, however, was it providentially ordered by Him “ who hath determined unto all nations of

men, the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation," that just at the point where the commercial enterprize of Mahometanism stopped short, that of Christianity, borrowing only to excel, stepped in to replace it.

After this condensed survey of the influences of Mahometanism on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce*, we may now briefly examine the other side of the parallel: namely, the influences of Christianity, from the period of the Crusades inclusive, when it became, peculiarly, the providential reviver of the arts of peace, upon the same great branches of human industry. One observation it will be expedient to premise, in representing the facts belonging to this part of the argument. The reader will hold in mind, that, when we speak of the direct influences of Christianity, in the social action of the crusades, we still speak, in point of fact, of the indirect influences of Mahometanism: the distinction amounts only to this, that the original

* The effects, treated of under these several heads, are properly ascribed, in the text, to the influence of *the religion of the Saracens*. "Le Koran," says M. Oelsner, "recommande le commerce, l'agriculture, et l'industrie manufacturielle, comme des occupations agréables à Dieu, et comme méritoires. Il en résulte, un grand respect pour l'état de négociant, et pour la personne de celui qui l'exerce; le libre passage des marchandises au milieu des armées; et la sûreté des grands chemins." *Effets de la Religion de Mohamm.* p. 220. Compare D'Ohsson, tom. iv. p. 196. and Chardin, vol. iv. p. 266.

Saracen holy war imported with it, *directly*, the arts and civilization of Mahometan Asia, into the west of Europe; while the subsequent reaction of the Christian crusades introduced Mahometan arts and civilization, *indirectly*, throughout the European continent.

Under the rule of her barbarian conquerors, the art of HUSBANDRY was nearly lost in Europe. The northern tribes held the labours of the field in contempt. The pride of these savage warriors accounted tillage a mean and servile employment, wholly unworthy of their care: agricultural pursuits, accordingly, abandoned to the rude industry of serfs and boors, fell into a state of general disrepute and decline. The evil spread from the North, with the progress of the barbarians, over the countries of the South and West. In the west of Europe, as we have already seen, it received its first great counteraction from the genius of Mahometanism; by the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy, and the establishment of the victorious Saracens in Spain. Almost from the epoch of its conquest by the Saracens, to that of the Crusades, Mahometan Spain afforded an example and a model to Christian Europe, of agricultural industry and improvement.* Its position, however, was too insulated,

* The Kitab al Felahat, or Book of Agriculture, by Abu Zacharia Iahia of Seville, is a splendid monument of the agricultural science of the

and the obstacles to intercourse with the adjoining nations too many and inveterate, for the example of Spain to become, to any considerable extent, imitated or even known in Europe. The social influences of Mahometanism, therefore, must have rested inoperative beyond the term of its conquests, had not Christianity, through the instrumentality of the crusades, providentially interposed for their diffusion.

The effects of the crusades on agriculture, if they appear to have been less direct than their other beneficial influences, were not less general or fruitful. At home, the holy wars operated, gradually, to relax the iron grasp of the feudal tyranny, and to slacken the bonds which attached the serf, as a burthen, rather than an improver, to the soil: abroad, they acted progressively on the minds of the feudal lords, through the sure medium of self-interest, by the practical experience they afforded of the advantages arising to the eastern countries, with which the crusaders now first became acquainted, from their superior cultivation. Besides the comparative freedom attained during the absence of the great proprietors, the peasant, too, had acquired an enhanced value, from the

Spanish Saracens. The sumptuous edition of this great work, from the royal press, at the expence of the royal library, of Madrid, 1802, in two volumes folio, accompanied by a Spanish version, would do honour to the literary spirit of any age or country.

unexampled dearth of population, which the expeditions to Palestine had occasioned throughout Europe. Be the causes, however, what they might, the providential result is certain. The return of the princes and nobles from the Holy Land was marked by a growing amelioration in the condition of the serfs; and an increasing attention to the culture and improvement of the soil.* In some states, privileges were now granted to the agricultural classes, by the crown; in others, they were received under the protection of the free cities, a new kind of power, itself the offspring of the crusades. In Holland and the Low Countries, especially, industry, under the wing of commerce, made early and extraordinary progress. The processes of draining and embankment, most probably imported by the crusades from the East, were here carried to a surprising extent and perfection. The dams, and dykes, and canals of the Netherlands, rivalled, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,

* Let it not be forgotten, that the church took the lead in this, as in most of the advances of the times: the clergy were the great agriculturists of the middle ages. "Along the Rhine," observes a modern writer, "from Switzerland to the Netherlands, the success of the labours of the clergy, in fertilizing the soil, is recorded in history." The abbey and monastery lands served as models and encouragements to lay agriculturists: under these auspices, the noxious swamp and the barren waste were converted into fertile gardens; and a system of cultivation was thus introduced, which, in every stage, is traceable to the direct or indirect agency of Christianity.

the drains, reservoirs, and aqueducts of Spain. Thus, by the joint instrumentality of the original Saracenic, and the subsequent Christian holy wars, Europe was supplied with two great schools of husbandry, in the West, and in the North.

At this conjuncture, by an indirect effect of the crusades, a movement took place which disseminated the agricultural skill and industry of the Netherlands over the entire North. The waste of population, caused by the continued action of the holy wars, fell no where so heavily as in the regions of lower Germany : the country was actually denuded of its inhabitants. Into these parts, the Flemings and Hollanders, invited by a soil and climate congenial to their habits, poured their surplus population. The new colonists formed settlements at the mouths of the Meuse, the Scheld, and the Rhine ; occupied that of the Elbe, so early as A.D. 1106 ; thence extended themselves into Saxony and Thuringia, and through the entire of the countries situated on the shores of the Baltic ; until, having at length passed the Vistula, they colonized Ducal Prussia. The scale of the colonization, thus carried on by the self-directed industry of the Flemish peasantry, may be judged of by the fact, that, at the present day, in many parts of Germany, *Hollander* is a term synonymous with *farmer*. By these extensive emigrations, among

the most important indirect effects of the holy wars, the seeds of future civilization were sown in these inhospitable climates; and the regions of the bleak and barren North were providentially converted into the granary of Europe.

While, through the crusades, Christianity was indirectly instrumental in bringing about this great revolution in the north of Europe, the progress of agriculture was more directly advanced in an opposite quarter, by the united instrumentality of Mahometanism and Christianity. In Sicily, the store-house of ancient Rome, the art of husbandry, preserved and cherished, from the period of its conquest in the ninth century, by the Arab colonists from Africa and Andalusia, passed, in the eleventh, into the hands of the enterprising and ingenious Normans. The silk-worm and the sugar-cane, which we have seen flourishing, at an earlier period, under the dynasty of the Omniades, in Spain, were cultivated with equal success in Sicily, in the twelfth century, under the dominion of its Norman rulers. The industry and arts of Sicily found a ready access to Italy, through the Norman kingdom of Salerno. Christianity thus appears, through the re-action of the crusades, importing, and naturalizing in the South of Europe, those staple products of the East, which Mahometanism, by the action of the pri-

mitive Saracen sacred war, had introduced and naturalized in the West. In Sicily and Italy, as in Spain, it may here be remarked, progress in like arts of agricultural industry prepared the way for the prosperous establishment of the same branches of manufacture.

The influences of the crusades on the MANUFACTURES of Europe, and the connection between Christianity and Mahometanism, in their respective effects on the creation or revival of the several branches of manufacturing industry, are more sensible and immediate, than any we have been able to observe, in tracing the modern progress of European agriculture.

Silk stuffs, cloths, and military arms, constituted the chief branches of manufacture, which the Saracens, about the ninth and following centuries, had introduced into Spain ; and these very branches, the crusades, at a later period, transported from Greece and Asia, to become the charter manufactures of catholic Europe.

Silk manufactories were first established, in the year 1140, by Roger, King of Sicily ; who settled round him, at Palermo, a colony of expert silk-weavers, whom he brought with him as captives, out of the principal cities of Greece, where the art was then at its height. From Sicily, the silk manufacture passed quickly into Italy : where it soon became the com-

mon pursuit of the rival Italian states; and one of the chief sources of their growing wealth and prosperity. The process of silk-weaving gave birth, at the same time, to the auxiliary arts of dyeing, and embroidering on gold and silver; which seem no where to have been carried to greater perfection than in the cities of Italy. The knowledge of the principal dyes, such as saffron, indigo, &c., which accompanied the Saracens into Spain, about this period passed into other parts of Europe, in the train of the crusades; and when, in process of time, the silk manufacture emigrated into climates less suited for the management of the silk-worm, the raw material of Sicily and Italy supplied, as they still in great part supply, the manufactories of France and England.

The origin of the cloth manufacture in the Netherlands, the counterpart of another great branch of Saracenic industry in Spain, has been also satisfactorily traced to the direct influences of the holy wars. Manufactories of woollen stuffs and cloths, and of tissues fabricated from camel's hair, had long existed and flourished in the eastern empire of the Saracens. At the period of the crusades, the cities of Syria and Phœnicia possessed numerous establishments of this kind: from these the crusa-

ders appear to have imported, first the articles, and then the arts themselves, into Europe. The cities of Flanders, of Artois, Hainault, and Brabant, early took the lead in the various departments of the woollen manufacture, which the European nations had thus learnt and adopted, from the Arab manufactories in the east. In the year 1300, the Arras tapestries were already celebrated : and, before the expiration of the fourteenth century, the copy had so surpassed the original, the Christian industry had so excelled the Mahometan, that, in the year 1396, a present of a suit of Arras hangings procured, from the imperious Bajazet, the release of the Count de Nivernois, and the other French princes, then his captives.*

The art of preparing and tempering steel, and the manufacture of military arms and armour, was a third great branch of Saracenic industry : this, in an age when war and chivalry were the universal passion and pursuit, naturally called forth the study and imitation of the Europeans, here most sensitively alive to the superior skill of the Arabs. The Italians appear to have engaged first, in this important and lucrative manufacture ; of which Italy soon rendered itself the great seat. Before the termination of the crusades, the temper

* Made prisoners after the battle of Nicopolis.

of the Milan steel competed with the hitherto unrivalled fabrics of Damascus and Toledo; and its famous plate and mail armour had attained a celebrity, which long secured to Milan a monopoly, in this branch, of the custom of Europe.

Among the manufactures invented or restored by the Arabs, and conveyed from Asia to Europe, through the medium of the crusades, the arts of fabricating glass and paper claim special notice and acknowledgment. The celebrated glass-works of Tyre seem to be admitted without dispute, as the source and model of European proficiency in this curious art; which owed its first introduction to the Venetians, and from them was borrowed by other states. The history of paper has been less exactly ascertained; but there seems not a shadow of ground for questioning the general fact, that modern Europe is indebted for the communication, if not for the discovery, of this invaluable article, to the Arabs of Spain and Asia. In the annals of the Spanish Saracens, which have been recently explored and given to the world *, the cotton paper of Salibah is reckoned among their most esteemed manufactures. The probable invention of paper by the Arabians, and its certain introduction into Europe through the joint influences of the Ma-

* By M. Conde: see De Marlès, *ut supr.*

hometan and Christian holy wars, are circumstances which integrally connect Mahometanism with Christianity, in the history of the revival of letters; for, without the previous knowledge and use of paper, the art of printing itself would have been discovered in vain. *

The influences of Mahometanism on the history of modern COMMERCE have been sketched in a preceding topic. The parallel effects of Christianity, on this prolific source of social happiness and advancement, remain to be considered. In this department of the general analogy, one feature may be observed, of peculiar interest and importance: namely, that, precisely at the point where the commercial influences of Mahometanism terminate, those of Christianity begin.

The Saracens, it has been stated, restored the ancient lines of communication, or established new routes, throughout Asia and Africa; which they had successfully explored to their inmost recesses. They filled, alike, the ports of the Mediterranean and of the Indian Ocean, with their merchant vessels; and touched, in their coasting voyages, now on the extremity of China, now almost on the point for doubling the Cape of Good Hope. But this was the sum and term of their progress: unacquainted with the use of the compass, with the art of

* Compare Introduction, pp. 48, 49.

tacking, or with the employment of more than a single mast, they never forsook the coasts: and added nothing, either to the capacities of tonnage, or to the science of navigation. These, on the other hand, were the very advances and improvements, which, in graduated succession, were made auxiliary to commerce, during the progress of the crusades.

From the moment in which the Adriatic and the Mediterranean became the established route for the expeditions to Palestine, we may date the rise of a new era in the history of *navigation*. The increased demand for shipping, to transport and supply the immense hosts of the crusaders, produced an increased supply of ships and seamen, in the Italian states; then the only naval powers of Christian Europe. The inadequacy of the vessels generally in use, for the purposes of their new destination, soon suggested to ship-owners the expediency of enlarging their tonnage, and induced the construction of vessels on a scale before unknown; the greatness of the profits stimulating the efforts and invention of Italian cupidity. Vessels of heavy burthen, at first mere clumsy expedients for the conveyance of troops and provisions, were gradually improved in their construction, and applied to the general purposes of commerce, in proportion as the Pisan,

Genoese, and Venetian carriers became sensible of the augmented profits thus to be secured. The ships now introduced, required, for their direction, a degree of power beyond that which had been hitherto known. The single mast, the only provision in use among the ancients, and down to the period of the crusades, was discarded; and vessels of two or three masts were soon generally employed. Sails were of course added, in proportion to the additional masts. In the management of these, the art of tacking was discovered; which gave to the navigator, heretofore at their mercy, the control and command of contrary winds. The boldness of the mariners grew with their improved skill and experience. The exigencies of the crusading armies created extraordinary emergencies, and called forth extraordinary exertions. Winter voyages, a practice unthought of by the Greeks and Romans *, and unattempted down to the age immediately preceding the crusades, passed, during the period of these expeditions, into general and familiar use. The invention, or application, of the mariner's compass completes the list of nautical improvements, which enable us legitimately to

* The relation of Saint Paul's voyage and shipwreck, Acts xxvii., is alone a sufficient comment on the state of navigation among the ancients: the attempt to pass, not into Italy, but merely from one port of Crete to another, was plainly little short of madness; compare, especially, verses 9. ^{and} 12.

derive the modern science of navigation, from the direct influences of the holy wars. By the providential ministry of these expeditions, the path of maritime enterprize and discovery was now happily cleared: when, in the fifteenth century, Christianity at length came forward to change the history of commerce, by carrying to its height that spirit of adventure, of which Mahometanism had barely laid the foundations.

The steps which conducted to this great consummation, are not the least remarkable among those manifold circumstances, which mark a providential connection between Christianity and Mahometanism, in their kindred effects on the social advancement of mankind. The first great voyages of discovery, which cemented together the old, and laid open a new, world*, originated, and were carried into effect, from Portugal and Spain; the only parts of Europe, which had formed integral members of the Saracenic empire. The seeds of commercial enterprize, which we have seen early sown in Spain and Portugal, during the dominion of the Saracens and Moors, — on the extinction of their power, in the fifteenth century, blossomed into fruits

* M. Oelsner does not hesitate to affirm, that the naval enterprize of the Saracens would have ante-dated, by centuries, even the discovery of America, had not their fleet been wrecked in a tempest, after clearing the straits of Gibraltar. See *Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* p. 221.

wholly unexpected, in the hands of the Christian Spaniards and Portuguese. After a few preliminary essays, boldly forsaking the coasts, they struck across the eastern and western oceans: and so just was the crisis, and so rapid the progress of adventure, that the same century which beheld the fall of the kingdom of Granada, the last Mahometan state in the west of Europe *, witnessed the discovery of India, by Vasco de Gama, and that of America, by Christopher Columbus.

The providential adjustment of the balance between the two religions, at this particular conjuncture, is, perhaps, one of the most striking arrangements for the production of a political equipoise, to be found throughout history, ancient or modern, sacred or profane. For, the erection of the Turkish empire in the east of Europe, which finally took place, at this momentous period, by the capture of Greece and Constantinople, was doubly counterbalanced in the opposite quarter, by the conquest of Granada, and by the erection of the Portuguese empire in India †, — a new and formidable bar-

* M. Heeren traces the fall of Granada, and the final expulsion of the Moors, to the agency of the crusades; which gave rise to the *military orders* of Spain and Portugal. See *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, p. 230.

† It is highly interesting to find the *Portuguese voyages of discovery*, among the ascertained fruits of the germinant influences of the crusades.

rier against the incessant efforts of the Ottomans towards universal dominion.*

But it is with the general results of the great epoch of maritime adventure, that we are more properly and especially concerned; for these first laid open the only unexplored field, for carrying to its completion the grand prophetic conflict between Mahometanism and Christianity. It has been already noticed, that, just at the point where the maritime progress of the Arabs ter-

M. Heeren has shown, that the expeditions of Don Henry were fitted out by the liberality of that military order, of which the illustrious Infant was Grand Master: — “ Il ne faut pas négliger de remarquer, qu'en ce dernier pays, (Portugal,) ce furent sur-tout les richesses de l'ordre du Christ, qui fournirent à son grand-maître, Henri, dit le Navigateur, les moyens de faire ces grandes expéditions, et ces découvertes, qui, en montrant aux flottes le chemin des Grandes-Indes, firent une révolution dans le commerce et dans la politique de l'Europe.” *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, note*, pp. 231, 232.

* Perhaps, in no part of modern history, is the unity of the divine plan more conspicuous, than in the *sameness* of instrumentality raised up, at an interval of nearly five centuries, to check the destroying progress of the Turks, in opposite hemispheres. It has been elsewhere proved, (see sect xi.) that the Turkish whirlwind was averted from the eastern frontier of Europe, wholly by the direct action of the crusades. It now further appears, that, from these holy wars arose, indirectly, the discoveries and empire of the Portuguese, in India. But to this great revolution in the destinies of the east, in the unbiassed judgment of the Abbé Raynal, who is followed by Dr. Robertson, Europe was indebted, a second time, for her deliverance from Turkish bondage. — “ It is,” says Dr. R., “ to the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and to the vigour and success with which the Portuguese prosecuted their conquests, and established their dominion there, that Europe has been indebted, for its preservation from the most illiberal and humiliating servitude, that ever oppressed polished nations.” *Hist. Disquisit. on India*, p. 189.; for the author's grounds and proofs of his conclusion, compare pp. 190—93.

minated, it was met and encountered by the rival progress of the Christian powers of Europe. After the final cessation of the crusades, the opposed religions thus came anew into hostile collision, on their opposite courses of discovery : and an Arab settlement was the first object which presented itself to the Portuguese, on doubling the Cape of Good Hope !

By the Portuguese voyages of discovery, Christianity was now brought into the only untried point of contact, with Mahometanism ; Isaac was introduced to the only untrodden scene of conflict, with Ishmael, in the remotest extremities of the East. The Mahometan conquests and settlements in India, until now undisturbed, were, at length, visited and subdued by a new race of crusaders ; by the naval powers of Europe. The conflict at this period began, indeed, in the thirst of gain ; but it was conducted by the Portuguese, in the true spirit of persecution : the career of Lusitanian bigotry in India, was a deteriorated revival of the holy wars.* Arabia, the primitive seat of the family of Ishmael, which, during the crusades, was assailed and violated on its western frontier, by the over-land expeditions of Christian Europe, — had now to sustain a severer storm, on its eastern frontier, from the victorious

* For *Roman Catholic* testimony on this subject, see “*L’Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse*,” as cited in final note.

fleets, and merciless fanaticism of Portugal; sweeping, at the same moment, the whole line of its Indian colonies, and the entire circuit of its coasts, — extending along the Persian Gulph, the Arabian, and the Red Seas. The persecution of Mahometanism in India, especially on the Malabar coast, by the Portuguese, and the unheard-of barbarities practised by this Christian people, for the conversion of their unhappy victims, are spoken of with horror and amazement by native writers.* The Inquisition of Goa † filled up whatever was wanting in the antichristian cruelty of the Portuguese soldiery and sailors. No where, in a word, during the most barbarous period of the crusades, does the retributive vengeance of Papal Rome appear to have fallen more heavily on the disciples of Mahomet, than, in the fifteenth and following centuries, in the Arab settlements on the coasts of India.

To the commercial empire of Portugal in the East, succeeded those of rival European powers. The Dutch, the Danes, the French, the British,

* See Narrative of Zeireddien, ap. Asiat. Research, vol. v.

† The author well remembers the impression made upon his mind, in childhood, by the perusal of “*L’Histoire de l’Inquisition de Goa* ;” which, strange to say, was put into his hands by a zealous French Roman Catholic : it was an impression never to be effaced.

have, in their turns, conducted this last great eastern struggle between the hostile faiths : and, beneath their successive political assaults, Mahometanism, long supreme in India, is lowered from the height of empire, and, at this day, is visibly depressed and declining. Under these providential circumstances, the ascendancy of Great Britain, the first foundress of a pure episcopacy in Hindostan, would seem, so far as short-sighted man may anticipate, providentially reserved to realize that glorious prospect, which now, apparently, begins to unfold : to make subjugated Islamism, after the conversion of its numerous professors throughout her vast Indian possessions *, the grand instrumental means, for

* For a happy illustration of the fitness of Church-of-England Christianity to win its way among Mahometans, the author is indebted to a learned and valued friend ; to whom, when in Turkey, the incident which he is about to mention occurred. Were that friend at present within reach, his permission would be sought, for confirming, 'by the authority of his name, the following most interesting anecdote.

The Rev. ———, when a traveller in the Levant, was asked by a Turk, Whether he crossed himself *on the breast, or on the forehead?* On ———'s replying that he did neither ; that it was not the practice of the church to which he belonged ; — the Mussulman could not conceal his pleasure and surprize, on learning that he conversed with a Christian, who belonged *neither to the Romish, nor to the Greek church.* The nature of the feeling will easily be understood, when we recall to mind the persecutions, which Mahometanism has, for so many ages, inflicted on the latter church, and suffered from the former. But the church of England stands clear on both grounds ; and the favourable consequences may prove *inestimable* for the cause of the Gospel.

erecting, when the fore-appointed period shall arrive, the triumphant banner of the Cross, on the ruins of Paganism in its eastern strong-holds ; in its first and its latest seat of empire.

It is a well-ascertained fact, that the preparatory influences of Mahometanism, towards bringing about in India this eventual consummation, have been long discernible in the rise of a sect of theists among the native Hindu idolaters⁶ : a phenomenon palpably connected with the reiterated diffusion of the fundamental principle of the Mahometan faith, through Hindostan, by the arms of its successive Mussulman conquerors, the Saracens, the Turks, and the Moguls. This auxiliary provision seems providentially ordered, and most happily disposed, for the final reduction of India to the yoke of the Gospel. Mahometanism, it should be observed, though, in certain points of its character, a real middle term between Christianity and Paganism, is, nevertheless, essentially, a non-conducting medium : its inherent bigotry, its substantive superstition, its strong outworks of ritual observances, its immemorial prejudices, its spirit of proselytism, its pride of universal dominion, — are inherent obstacles, which must all tend to bar its immediate coadjutorship. But a theism distinct from Mahometanism, though

emanating from it, is wholly free from these counteracting tendencies.

Nor do the preparatory influences of the faith of Mahomet, on the natives of the Indian peninsula, terminate here. Besides its direct and undoubted agency, in propagating, beyond the limits of its own pale, the doctrine of the divine Unity, Mahometanism, in those districts of India where it has been the prevailing power, has invariably loosened the bonds of Hindu Paganism, by lowering the prejudices of caste. In Bengal, for example, where the Mahometans are numerous, the distinctions of caste are far less rigidly enforced, and less scrupulously observed, than in the interior of the peninsula, where there are comparatively few disciples of the Koran.⁷

In the mean time, while its influences, direct and indirect, have been instrumental in effecting these salutary changes, the Mahometan religion itself, under the British rule in India, is observed to be now in a very declining state⁸: not in numerical strength, — for there has been no sensible decrease in numbers, — but in spiritual power. Throughout the greater part of British India, the zeal, once its chief characteristic, is nearly extinct; the enthusiasm, formerly its animating spirit, has almost expired. This general

decline is said to be perceptible, in a growing neglect of the Mahometan ritual, of the fasts and daily prayers prescribed by the Koran; and seems, in a great degree, attributable to the indirect effects of our political administration. The wise, because discriminative toleration, extended by the British Government to her subjects of all religions, has naturally contributed to abate the spirit of intolerance, inherent in Mahometanism. That spirit of liberty, again, which characterizes all her institutions, has operated in India to unhinge the social links which bound the Mussulmans together, by rendering the lower orders independent of the higher; a process which has dissolved the control of religious, as well as of civil, subordination. Thus, by the twofold agency, under divine Providence, of her free and glorious constitution in church and state, the commercial rule of Great Britain in the East promises, eventually, to secure to her a palm beyond all earthly crowns; — the honour of one day leading forth the now enslaved and benighted nations of Asia, into the glorious light and liberty of the Gospel of Christ.⁹

SECTION XIII.*

ANALOGY BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND MAHOMETANISM,
IN THEIR INFLUENCES ON ARTS, SCIENCES, PHILO-
SOPHY, AND LITERATURE.

IN every age where they have appeared, and in every country where they have flourished, industry and commerce have been the parents of science and civilization. But at no period of the world has this connection been so signally exemplified, as during the term that elapsed between the eighth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era; between the establishment of the rival houses of Abbas and Ommiah, in the caliphates of Asia and Spain, and the general restoration of learning in Italy, and throughout Europe. What peculiarly characterizes this memorable period, as, in the progress of this work, there has been frequent occasion to intimate, is, that the whole process of improvement, social and intellectual, which has gained for it so just a celebrity, can be traced exclusively to the joint

* For the principal authorities consulted in this part of the work, see sect. xii. ad init. *note* *.

agency of Mahometanism and Christianity; the two great religious systems which then divided, as they still divide, the empire of the world; and which, during this prolonged term of nearly eight hundred years, successively rendered the arts of life, which they revived and cherished, instrumental to the revival also, and advancement, of the lights of knowledge. We have just examined the parallel effects of the two religions on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce: we will next contemplate them, as, through the instrumentality of these pursuits, giving a new birth to the several branches of intellectual cultivation: to arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature.

Nothing can be more exact than the parallel advances of the two creeds, toward that mental renovation of mankind, which issued in the production of the intellectual wealth and resources of modern Europe. The erection and aggrandizement, throughout the East and West, of numerous and populous cities, were, the reader will call to mind, among the first-fruits of the manufacturing and commercial prosperity which emanated from the Saracenic and Catholic crusades. The population of Bagdad or Cordova *, in the

* The census of Cordova was one million. *De Marlès*. The funeral of Ebn Hanbal, was followed by 800,000 men, and 60,000 women, inhabitants of Bagdad. *D'Herbelot*.

ninth and tenth centuries, equalled that of modern London or Paris ; and the wealth of those immense capitals was proportioned to their population. The census and revenues of Venice, Genoa, Florence, not to mention other Italian states, will amply verify the corresponding effects of the Christian holy wars, on the enlargement and prosperity of cities. The cases instanced, are merely taken as specimens of the efficacious general agency of the religions of Christ and Mahomet, on a department of national improvement, which supplies, in fact, the foundation of all social progress. For it is notorious, that the influences of Mahometanism spread flourishing cities and towns over the Asiatic and African dominions of the Saracens ; and that the influences of Christianity multiplied towns and cities not less flourishing, in the centre and north of Europe. The cities of Spain and Italy, however, were the chief seats of commerce : accordingly, we find Spain and Italy becoming, in their turns, the great providential sources of the general revival of letters. And we see, in these countries, the newly-arisen lights of Mahometanism and Christianity converging to illuminate, from its opposite extremities, the benighted nations of Europe. From these states, especially, we behold the two religions start as competitors in a new field of conflict : in these states,

the lamp of science was re-kindled from the East, by the influences of Mahometanism, in the progress of the great twofold crusade: but Mahometanism, having thus discharged its providential part, has long since yielded up its borrowed lustre, to heighten those earlier lights of Christianity, whence it originally drew its own illumination. Learning, indeed, it will freely be acknowledged, was revived in Europe, in the eighth century, by the direct, and in the fifteenth, by the indirect effects, of the primitive Saracenic holy war: but it should be equally remembered, that the rudiments of knowledge were introduced anew, by Mahometanism, from the East, only to be carried by western Christendom to the height of their perfection. Thus, in this, as in every former topic of comparison, nothing will be found wanting to complete the triumph, and to guard the inviolable supremacy of the Gospel.

An extraordinary increase in the number and population of cities has been noticed as a common effect of the great Saracenic irruption, and of the crusades. Respecting the Saracens, especially, the remark has been justly made, that, in the prosperous age of their empire, they never effected a new conquest, without laying, at the same time, the foundations of a city.* The

* Oelsner.

rise of a national taste for ARCHITECTURE was the necessary and immediate consequence of this wise and prospective policy. We will begin, then, with a survey of the relative influences of the Saracenic wars, and European crusades, on the progress of this noble decorative art.

In forming their peculiar school of architecture, the Saracens seem to have laid aside their propensity to imitate, and to have followed the bent of their national genius. Their architectural school, possessing distinctive features equally removed from the classic beauty of the Greek, and from the severe regularity of the Egyptian, has been appropriately characterized, as the union of elegance with boldness. At the height of their prosperity, the Arabs devoted themselves enthusiastically to the cultivation of an art, the study of which among them, as is attested by the erection of the celebrated mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, was nearly coeval with the period of their earliest conquests. Throughout Asia, Africa, and Spain, mosques, palaces, and public buildings arose, almost simultaneously, on a scale of magnificence, which caused them to surpass the chaster monuments of ancient Greece and Rome. Spain, in particular, from its situation peculiarly qualified to serve as a model for

the rest of Europe *, was distinguished, under the house of Moawiyah, by the multitude and splendour of its architectural works. For our object, it may suffice to give some idea of the progress of architecture during a limited period. In the erection of the palace and city of Azharat, founded by Abderahman III. the Arab historians relate †, that, besides the rougher materials, the consumption of cut stone, for twenty years together, amounted to six thousand blocks daily; the arched ceilings of the palace were sustained by four thousand three hundred columns of marble. Erija, Segovia, Tarragona, were indebted to this munificent Caliph, for splendid public or religious buildings. But the royal city of Cordova chiefly engrossed his care. The quays, the mosques, the baths, which embellished this proud capital, were principally the work of Abderahman. Cordova, in this reign, is stated to have

* Italy, however, had a nearer example, in the Saracen kingdom of Sicily: for the splendour of their architecture at Panormo, see *Thes. Sic.* tom. iv. p. 474. ap. Græv. et Gronov. *Antiq.* “Cum Panormum omni omnium deliciarum genere affluentem animadverterent Saraceni, non modo non delicias hostili crudelitate perdiderunt, sed eas etiam mirum quantum novis inventionibus auxerunt. Extant vel hodierna luce Saracenicarum deliciarum magnificentiarumque, vestigia, de quibus jam Primo Libro sermonem habuimus, quæ, cum egregia sint omnino, ac præclara satis, ostendunt, quanto in pretio, quantoque honore, habitam a Saracenis Panormum fuisse.” *De Panorm. Maj. Ib. t. xiii. p. 161.*

† It was rivalled by the palace and gardens of Aziza, at Panormo, *Cf. Thes. Sic. t. xiii. pp. 57—65.*

‡ *De Marlès, tom. i. p. 419, 420.*

contained two hundred thousand houses, six hundred mosques, nine hundred public baths, fifty hospitals, and eighty public schools. Its great mosque exceeded in spaciousness, and equalled in splendour, the famous mosque Alaksa, at Jerusalem. * I have instanced here the products of a single reign : it were easy to enlarge the catalogue ; but, were no other memorial left of the architectural proficiency of the Spanish Arabs, the solitary remains of the Alhambra would competently indicate their leading share in the restoration of this art in modern Europe.†

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Europeans, including several highly-distinguished ecclesiastics, who visited Spain in pursuit of the science of the Arabians, had full opportunity of observing the superiority of the Saracenic architecture, to any thing that was then known or practised in Europe. From the epoch of the

* Like the mosque of Omar, that of Cordova was erected on the site of a Christian temple : its cost amounted to a hundred thousand pieces of gold. Cf. Abulfed. Annal. Muslem. tom. ii. pp. 60, 61.

† Has the attention of architects, or of writers on architecture, been directed sufficiently to Spain? A *comparison* of the genuine Saracenic remains in the peninsula, with the earliest specimens of Spanish architecture, in their details, might do more to illustrate the connection of the two schools, and the history of the pointed style, than has been effected, or is likely to be effected, by elaborate theories on the subject. The author was struck by the features of resemblance, discernible even in the plates given in books of travels : see especially Mr. Jacob's highly interesting " Travels in Spain." For a description of the Saracenic castle of Benevente, see Southey's History of the Peninsular War, vol. i. pp. 781, 782.

crusades, this partial acquaintance with the Arabesque style became general: the crusaders not only visited and frequented, but, for the space of nearly two centuries, dwelt and reigned in, some of the principal cities of the east. Now, as, during the entire period from the tenth to the fourteenth century, there was unquestionably a constant influx into the West, of the Arabian arts and sciences, it is not to be supposed, that objects so palpable as their buildings, and so connected with the comforts and convenience of life, could have passed altogether unimitated and unnoticed. Without entering on the controverted derivation, of what has been improperly termed the Gothic style, there can be no reasonable question, that the general and intimate acquaintance of the European nations with the splendid edifices of the Saracens, must have largely contributed to produce that new era in architecture, which arose in the twelfth century. The coincidence of the pointed style with the period of the crusades, is alone a strong presumption in favour of its Saracenic origin. But, however this may be, it is proved by facts, and admitted by the best and latest authorities, that modern Europe owes the restoration of architectural science to the Arabs and the holy wars.

Prior to this period, the art was at its lowest

ebb. From the time of Charlemagne, the Lombard style, variously modified by our Saxon and Norman ancestors, was the only one in use, or rather, in existence. The ecclesiastical, almost the sole public buildings, were heavy, or mean, in their construction: private architectural edifices there existed few or none. The age of the crusades introduced a general and complete revolution. The massive dulness of the Lombard school was now universally exchanged, for the bold and graceful forms of a style, singularly analogous, and closely allied, to the Saracenic. The low-roofed vault suddenly replaced by the long and lofty perspective of the pointed arch*, marks more expressively than any laboured detail of argument, the influence of their growing familiarity with the structures of the Saracens, on the minds of the Italian and German, the French and Norman, artists. None were now accounted able architects, but those who could dazzle and surprise, by the daring

* Westminster Hall, erected by William Rufus, A.D. 1097, might be instanced as a specimen of this transition since unequalled, could it be ascertained that the roof was restored by Richard II. on the model afforded by the original building. At all events, the dimensions of this matchless structure, taken in connection with its date, which coincides nearly with that of the first crusade, strongly indicate the influence exercised by the Spanish Saracens, on the French or Norman architects. It is a remarkable fact, that Saracen Spain had been visited and ravaged by the *Normans*, in the ninth century. Cf. Sect. xi, p. 194. note.

temerity of their conceptions. In the construction of their mosques, it was a favourite artifice of the Arabs, to sustain immense and ponderous masses of stone, by the support of pillars so slender, that the incumbent weight seemed, as it were, suspended in the air by an invisible hand. The forms of ecclesiastical architecture, first introduced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, betray how largely and successfully this peculiar artifice was caught and imitated, by the emulation of the crusaders. The towers of Pisa and Strasburgh, and the cathedral of Amiens, among the most perfect specimens extant of the pointed style, were also among the first-fruits of that great change which took place in this art, during the progress of the crusades. In the thirteenth century, it is recorded of Saint Louis, that he carried with him, on his expeditions into Asia, two favourite architects, Eudes de Montreuil, and Jousselin de Courvaulx; who there, in the school of the Saracens, enjoyed ample opportunities of perfecting themselves in their art. The famous holy chapel, the master-piece of the former of these artists, and the church of the Chartreux, at Paris, with eight others, are numbered among the results of his labours, after returning from the holy land. While, therefore, the revival of architecture was undoubtedly one

common effect of the influences of Mahometanism and Christianity, through the medium of their respective holy wars, — the connection between the opposed systems may be drawn still more closely, by the consideration, that the influences of the one appear to have created the first principles of that style, which those of the other carried to such unexampled perfection ; and that the ecclesiastical architecture of modern Europe, in particular, owes some of its most characteristic features to imitation of the style which prevailed in the mosques of Mahometan Asia.

In the arts of sculpture and painting, the severe simplicity of their creed, and their superstitious dread of idolatry, precluded the Saracens from any competition with their masters, the Greeks. MUSIC, however, was not liable to the same exception ; and in this art, accordingly, the Arabs, both in Asia and in Spain, are said to have attained great excellence. The history of the Arabian music is little known ; but its connection with the revival of the art in Italy seems clear and undoubted. The connecting link may be traced to the monastery of Monte Casino. The monks of this celebrated seat of science, “ who were distinguished before the year 1000, not only for their knowledge of the

sciences, but their attention to polite learning, and an acquaintance with the classics *," and who unquestionably drew their learning from the Saracens, composed, we are told, among various other pieces, "learned treatises in music."† From these truly venerable ecclesiastics, Italy, together with the graver sciences of the Arabs, it seems morally certain, received her earliest initiation in an art, which she has since brought to such a pitch of excellence; and which, from the great revival of letters to the present day, has, under the control of Christianity, served alternately to charm down the cares of life, and to exalt the noblest services of religion.

The influences of Mahometanism happily prepared the way for the successful progress of the European nations, in acquaintance, practical and theoretical, with the surface and form of our globe. By their discoveries to the south, east, and north, of the empire of the caliphs, the Saracens greatly enlarged the bounds of GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE. In one direction, their armies, or their caravans, penetrated into regions of Africa now unknown to Europeans, and which have hitherto remained inaccessible to the best-con-

* Turner.

† Turner. Compare Oelsner, *Effets de la Relig. de Moham.* p. 167., for a notice of the Arabic treatises on music; which may have served as precedents for the school of Monte Casino.

certed efforts of modern enterprize ; in another, their merchants and travellers visited the trackless wastes of Siberia, Russia, and Sclavonia. * Their discoveries along the coasts of India and Africa, have been noticed, in the preceding section, in tracing the history of their commerce. The *science* of geography, too, was a favourite study of the Arabians †: this sufficiently appears to European geographers from a single specimen, the geographical work of the illustrious Abulfeda ; whose love of knowledge conducted him, in the fourteenth century, into England ; and who, to illustrate his scientific survey of the region beyond the Oxus, cites a great number of Arabian authors. The spirit of proselytism, which prompted and accompanied all the undertakings of the Saracens, with its inseparable consequence, the obligation of pilgrimage to Mecca, ensured the permanence of their geographical knowledge ; by maintaining, as matter of religious duty, those communications, which conquest or commercial enterprize had once laid open. ‡

* The commercial intercourse of the Saracens with the north of Europe, is among the most interesting results of their indefatigable spirit of adventure. The learned orientalist, D.J.L. Rasmussen, refers to a treatise of his own on the subject : — “ cfr. dissertationem meam de commercio Arabum et Persarum medio ævo cum *Russia* et *Scandinavia*, Danice scriptam.” See *Hist. Arab. ante Islamismum*, p. 19. Hauniæ, 1817.

† Robertson, *Hist. Amer.* vol. i. p. 39.

‡ Oelsner, p. 203, 204.

The influences of Christianity, commencing at the period of the crusades, when they present a complete resemblance to those of Mahometanism, have raised geographical science to its present high perfection. * The crusades first restored and enlarged, in the West, the practical knowledge of geography; they unbarred and threw open to Europe the gates of Asia, which European barbarism and Mahometan bigotry, by their joint agency, had, from the fall of the western empire, to the end of the eleventh century, effectually closed. Religious zeal, commercial enterprize, and the rising spirit of inquiry, henceforward combined, to explore successfully the remotest regions of the East. Following in the train of the crusaders, the missionary or the merchant served as pioneers to more skilful travellers. In the thirteenth century, central Asia was visited and described by a Flemish missionary, and India and China, by an Italian merchant: the piety of Saint Louis gave birth to the voyage of Rubruquis; the commercial spirit of Venice, to those of Marco Polo. While their exaggerated reports of the riches and resources of Asia stimulated the cupidity, their animated and marvellous descriptions awak-

* Dr. Robertson has stated the *immediate* connection of the revival of the science of geography, and of the art of navigation, with the introduction of the Arabian sciences into Europe. See Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 59.

ened the laudable curiosity, of the western nations. By these, and succeeding voyagers, before the close of the fourteenth century, the entire continent and islands of Asia, with the exception, perhaps, of Thibet, and some provinces in the interior of India, had been traversed and delineated. In addition to written accounts, the imagination of the curious was further gratified and excited, by descriptive plans or maps, containing representations of the situation, products, and costumes, of the several countries. These first essays were rude in the extreme; the sciences of geometry and astronomy had not yet been applied to frame or illustrate that of geography: the positions and forms of the various regions were, therefore, strangely misrepresented. In these beginnings, however, was laid the ground-work of those advances in geographical science, which prompted, and, in return, were promoted by, the voyages of discovery in the fifteenth century.* The progress of geography, both in practice and theory, may, from that period, be reckoned among the most eminent triumphs of modern science and civilization. It has been remarked by the learned, that, under the reign of Mahometanism, geographical know-

* These enterprizes themselves owed their origin to the *geographical studies* of Don Henry. See Robertson, *Hist. Amer.* vol. i. p. 61. What a moment in the history of mankind, when the secrets of the old and new worlds lay in embryo, in the mind of this wonderful instrument of Providence!

ledge was materially aided by the pilgrimage to Mecca: it is certainly remarkable as an additional circumstance in the parallel, that, under Christianity, in the time of the crusades, this branch of science derived exactly similar aids from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The congeniality of the MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES to the genius of the Saracens, gave the first spring to their mental energies and exertions.* Their earliest labours in this field, which commenced in Syria, consisted in translations from the works of Archimede, Ptolemy, and other Greek mathematicians. The zeal with which they applied themselves to the study of geometry in particular, contributed materially to the advancement of this primitive branch of the mathematics†, while it secured the permanent revival and diffusion of the previous knowledge of the Greeks. The study of the sciences of the ancients became soon the ruling passion of their mercurial imitators: the lights acquired in Asia were perfected in Spain, and, from this

* “*Studia Arabum in Hispania Australiora, et in Africa Septentrionali, et tunc temporis (cent. xii. xiii.) erant, et diu ante fuerant, florentissima, eaque summo habita in pretio. Nam et scientiæ liberales riteque institutæ, diu ante vocari solebant a nostris studia Arabum, et Arabica studia; veluti denominata a gente, ac locis, ubi tunc solum serio colebantur.*” Selden. Op. tom. ii. pp. 520, 521.

† Oelsner, p. 206. “*Trigonometry, which had never been known to the Greeks as a separate science, took that form in Arabia.*” Playfair, Suppl. Encycl. Brit. vol. ii. p. 4.

point of contact, diffused themselves over Europe ; where Archimede and Ptolemy were first rendered into Latin from the Arabic versions. The state of mathematical science, at the present day, is the best evidence, how largely Christian Europe profited by these gifts of the Arabians ; and with what interest Christianity has here repaid the loan, transmitted to her, through Mahometanism, from the ancients.

The mode of arithmetical notation, by the letters of the alphabet, the only one known in ancient Europe, presented an insuperable bar to the progress of the Greeks in numerical calculations.* For letters, the Arabs substituted those cyphers, or numerals, which, either they had themselves invented, or had adopted from the Indians and Chinese. And, from the time of this important change, may be dated that progress of arithmetical science, which has, ever since, continued its advances towards perfecting the art of calculation : an art which has extended such useful aids, both to the general progress of knowledge, and to the practical employments of ordinary life ; and which, above all, has so contributed to improve and enlarge the commercial system and relations of Europe, as to render modern commerce an intellectual pursuit, and

† For a valuable dissertation on this subject by the learned Dr. Thomas Brett, see the "*Bibliotheca Literaria*," No. vii. pp. 22—25.

its conductors, the best patrons and protectors of the liberal arts, and of every species of mental cultivation. The passage of the Arabic cyphers, from Mahometan Spain, into Catholic Europe, took place in the tenth century.* Their first introduction seems satisfactorily traced to the illustrious Gerbert, afterwards Pope Silvester II.† This is not the only instance in which the influences of Popery and Mahometanism, in the hands of their rival heads, the popes and caliphs, are to be seen conjointly operating for the good of mankind, by the encouragement of science and civilization.

The doctrine of equations is said to have been known to the Greeks : if so, it had not, among them, escaped from the state of infancy ; for it is certain, that they never applied this distinct branch of mathematics to any practical or useful purpose. Whether they were, or were not, its inventors, the Arabs were unquestionably the first who discovered the true utility and importance of the science of ALGEBRA ‡ ; and who em-

* Professor Leslie, in his *Treatise on Arithmetic* (Suppl. *Encycl. Brit.*), adopts a much later date. The authorities followed in the text, however, are supported by Professor Playfair, in the dissertation prefixed to vol. ii. of the same work.

† For our manifold obligations to this great man, compare Turner, *H. M. A.* vol. iv. p. 435.

‡ “ L’usage d’Algèbre, enseigné par les Sarrazins, est un très-grand pas qu’ils ont fait faire à l’esprit humain.” Oelsner, p. 213.

ployed it, as a new master-key to the yet unexplored treasures of mathematical knowledge. The ideas entertained of their proficiency in this profound and pregnant science, seem to become daily enlarged, with the growing knowledge of the long-neglected remains of Arabic learning. Among their algebraic discoveries, the invention of the solution of equations of the second degree, is ascribed by the learned to Mohammed ebn Musa : and the work of Omar ebn Ibrahim, on cubic equations, led Montucla to form a much higher estimate of the success of the Arabs in algebra, than the moderns had been in the habit of entertaining. Algebra was first imported into various parts of catholic Europe, at the same period with the other sciences of the Arabians*, by the churchmen and scholars, whom a noble spirit of inquiry had conducted into Saracen Spain. There is, perhaps, no branch of learning in which the modern has so surpassed the ancient world, as the mathematical : men of science are unanimous in acknowledging how largely this result is owing to the use of algebra; and each fresh inquiry swells the amount of our debt, on this score, to the Spanish Saracens. But here,

* “ It was not from Greece alone, that the light proceeded, which dispelled the darkness of the middle ages ; for, with the first dawn of that light, a mathematical science, of a nature and character unknown to the geometers of antiquity, was received in Europe from Arabia.” Playfair, *Diss. Suppl. Encycl. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 11.

as in every preceding example, we may trace the final result to the same originating source; to the parallel influences of the kindred and conflicting creeds: Mahometanism, in the earlier stage of the providential process, still planting and nurturing the seeds of science; Christianity, in the later, causing them to spring up and flourish, and to bring forth fruits to perfection.

The earliest essays in astronomical science were made in the east; and among the eastern nations the Arabians were remarkable, for the study and observation of the heavenly bodies. When, therefore, under Mahometanism, learning became the national pursuit and passion of the Saracens, it is but natural to suppose, that ASTRONOMY would not be less cultivated*, than its kindred branches of science. It appears, accordingly, that the Saracen mathematicians applied themselves, with signal zeal and success, to this particular study. With their wonted penetration, they soon detected the errors of former systems; corrected or improved the imperfect lights of the Greeks; and drew conclusions of their own, from their own observations, respecting the laws and motions of the heavenly

* The Arabs have, in one respect, appropriated the dominion of this science. The astronomical vocabulary now in established use, is, to a great extent, of Arabic origin: it has happened to the author to be applied to, by an eminent astronomer, for explanations of the Arabic terms, with which this branch of science abounds.

bodies. The measurement of the earth, undertaken by the command of Almamon, remains an illustrious monument of the proficiency and zeal of the Arabian astronomers, and of the practical character of their observations and researches. Abulfeda has preserved the details of this great enterprize, and its merits have been attested by our most eminent modern mathematicians.* Among the discoveries of the Saracens, that of Albatagnus, which anticipated, in part, one of the greatest reaches of modern invention, may be deservedly classed the highest. This astronomer discovered that the apogee of the sun has a proper movement of its own, by which it advances uniformly along the ecliptic; whence, arguing analogically, he proceeded to establish the principle, that the apogees of all the planets have a proper movement in the same direction, only less sensible than that of the apogee of the sun. On this great discovery Bailly remarks, that it is the sterling mark which determines the value of the astronomical labours of the Arabs: a foundation-stone which they have laid, towards the construction of the true fabric of the world. The Arabian philosopher thus discovered a phe-

* "The next measurement [after that of Eratosthenes] is that of the astronomers of Almamon, in the plains of Mesopotamia; and the manner of conducting the operation appears to have been *far more accurate* than that of the Greek philosophers." Playfair, Prelim. Diss. Suppl. to *Encycl. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 106.

nomenon in the system of nature, of which it was reserved for Newton to penetrate the cause.

But the progress made by the Saracens, in their scientific researches, is to be measured, not so much by the amount of their actual discoveries, as by the surprizing reach and justness of their conjectural anticipations, while criticizing the now-exploded systems of the ancients. It is observed of them, as their highest praise, that they already began to perceive the insufficiency of many of their own lights and attainments; to discern the defectiveness of the Ptolemaic system; and to have such presentiments of future discoveries in astronomy, as could be formed by those only, who had themselves made great advances.*

At the dawn of the great revival of European learning, astronomy was among the first of the Arabian sciences which engaged the attention of inquirers. The spirit of literary adventure, which now transported alternately, in a generous rivalry of research, natives of Germany and Italy, of France and England, into Mahometan Spain, brought back into these countries, with other first-fruits of their toils, not only the elements of astronomical science, but some of the standard works of the Arabian astronomers. In the stu-

* Mr. Gibbon has undertaken to depreciate the proficiency of the Arabians both in geometry and astronomy! See vol. x. pp. 46—48.

dies of the schools, which, after the example of what they had seen in Spain, Gerbert and his successors established every where over Europe, the knowledge of the Greeks came thus to be combined with the recent lights and discoveries of the Saracens. In no quarter, do these establishments appear to have flourished more, than in England: where the study of the Arabian sciences generally, and, in particular, that of astronomy, can be legitimately deduced, from the age of Robert Retinensis, to that of the celebrated Roger Bacon.* This prodigy of the middle ages, the prototype as well as the precursor of his great name-sake, was the genuine offspring of these new schools of science. Himself an orientalist, Bacon drank deeply of the Arabian learning at the fountain-head; and thence (as appears irrefragably from the authorities cited in his works,) drew all the chief resources of his genius. In the principles advanced by this extraordinary man, in his almost prophetic project for the emendation of the kalendar †, as the distinguished editor of the *Opus Majus*¹, the learned Doctor Samuel Jebb, has ably shown in his preface to that work, we find

* Cf. Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philosoph.* tom. iii. pp. 683, 684.

† Even here, Bacon trod in the steps of the Arabians. The *Gelalæa* era, introduced in the reign of Malek Shah, A. D. 1079, stands as the middle term between the Julian, and the Gregorian, style. See Deel. and Fall, vol. x. p. 367.

the undoubted origin of the true astronomy, as afterwards unfolded in the Copernican system. The principles advanced by Paul, Bishop of Sempronia, at the council of Lateran, towards fixing the true period for the celebration of Easter, were taken, without acknowledgment, from the works of Bacon : at the instance of that prelate, Nicholas Copernicus, for the completion of this work, first bent his mind to the more exact observation of the motions of the heavenly bodies : the result of his labours it is needless to repeat : the reader will only remark their ascertained connection, through Friar Bacon, with the Arabian astronomy ; and the uniform recurrence of the same great moving cause, — the joint influence of Mahometanism and Christianity, — in first reviving, and finally perfecting, every branch of human science.

The parallel effects of the two religions, which have been just exemplified from the progress of astronomy, can be equally traced in the history of OPTICS. This kindred science was first restored by the Arabs, who attained great excellence in it, and made surprising reaches for its advancement. The work of Al Hazen, in particular, is said to be a rich repository of optical discoveries and observations.*² This Arabian

* “ An interval of nearly a thousand years divided Ptolemy from Al Hazen, who, in the history of optical discovery, appears as his immediate successor.” Playfair, *Suppl. Encycl. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 113.

author explains the laws of refraction, with an enlargement and correctness of view, of which there is no precedent among the Greeks. He lays down the method of ascertaining the quantity of refraction; fixes the height of the atmosphere; and proves that, above its elevation, there exists a substance of greater rarity than the air. But, what is still more worthy of remark and consideration, the theory of the telescope may be found in the work of this astronomer, composed about A.D. 1100, nearly five centuries prior to its practical invention.

Still following in the steps of his masters, the Spanish Arabs, the science of optics was sedulously cultivated by Friar Bacon. The success of this great inventor, as usual, was answerable to his zeal. The *Opus Majus* contains ample proof of his profound acquaintance with the laws of refraction and perspective; in the study of which, he not only far outstripped the lights of his own age, but left a gap of centuries, between the theory of his several discoveries, and their verification in practice. The uses of magnifying glasses and telescopes, and the principle of their construction, are explained in the great work of Bacon, with a truth and clearness which have commanded universal admiration. He foresaw, also, and foretold, their application to the science of astronomy, and the influence they

must exercise on its advancement. In a word, the great invention of Galileo appears to have been little more than the practical revival of principles laid down by Roger Bacon ; which principles, again, he had derived from the Arabians ; a fact which once more retraces the stream of revived science, through the influences of Christianity, to those of Mahometanism, for its rise.

By their cultivation of the mathematical sciences, the Saracens only *restored* those branches of knowledge, which had been known and in use among the ancients. In the history of CHEMISTRY, they assume the undisputed rank of *inventors*. This important science, the primitive source of the experimental philosophy, was the genuine product of Arabian genius ; of that union of Oriental imagination, with a practical spirit of research, which properly distinguishes the intellectual character of the Saracens, from that of the ancient Greeks. The abstract intellect of the Greeks, which, in their best days, gave birth and maturity to their noble school of moral philosophy, degenerated, with their political decline, and with that of their imitators, the Romans, into the minute and contemptible subtleties of sophistry. The experimental intellect of the Arabs took a different course, and led to an opposite result. Their

ardent imagination first aimed at impossibilities : they began their peculiar career in science, by the pursuit of a visionary object. This object, however, it will be observed, though unattainable, was substantial ; and the practical nature of their researches soon corrected the errors of their imagination. In the process of the romantic quest after the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality, the dreams of alchemy * originated, and gave place to, the realities of that great experimental science, which has proved, under the guidance of the moderns, at once the interpreter of the kingdom of nature, and the parent of the true system of philosophical investigation.

Such is the well-known history of chemistry. The indefatigable zeal and industry with which the Arabs devoted themselves to this novel and congenial art, found their recompense in a corresponding proficiency. They successfully analyzed the various substances of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms ; made experiments on air, fire, earth, and water ; ascertained the opposite and

* The reputation of the German chemists is matter of notoriety : they are among the first experimentalists in the world. It is a remarkable fact, that the modern Germans owe their eminence in this science to the same cause, which had operated so propitiously among the Arabians ; viz. the study of alchemy, and incessant researches to discover the process for transmuting the baser metals into gold.

kindred properties of alkalies and acids; invented, together with the alembic, various kinds of distillation and sublimation; discovered the volatile oils; and compensated their failure in the attempt to transmute the inferior metals into gold, by the discovery of the medicinal qualities of mercury, and by the more valuable transmutations of poisonous minerals into salutary medicines. The details of their progress in chemical science, however, are of little moment to the present argument, compared with the position, which the simple fact of their being the *inventors* of this art, necessarily assigns to the Saracens, in the providential history of the world. For this invention, we have seen, lies at the root of all our most celebrated modern discoveries and advances in philosophy: and, what is certainly not less worthy of observation, it appears, from the very nature of the pursuit in which it originated, that the fervid genius of Arabia was as indispensable to its first rise, as the phlegmatic temperament of Europe was essential to its full perfection. It was their credulous cupidity, united with their innate love of the marvellous and mysterious, which first prompted the Saracens to their indefatigable experiments in alchemy; and these experiments, again, corrected, in process of time, by the phlegm of the European

nations, have raised the science of chemistry to its present elevation and dominion.

With the knowledge of those ancient sciences, which they revived, the Saracens would naturally communicate to catholic Europe the art of chemistry, which they invented. The early introduction of this new science, and its derivation from the Arabs, are ascertained by every species of testimony. The East and West, the influences of the crusades and those of the Spanish Arabs, are, however, so intermingled in the history of European chemistry, that it seems difficult to apportion properly the account of our double debt, to the Saracens of Asia, and to those of Spain. In western Christendom, no less than in the Saracen empire, the progress of chemistry was long apparently obstructed, and secretly advanced, by the eccentric speculations of alchemy. But the more sober temperament of the European mind early abated the force of this delusion, and gradually extricated itself from its influence. In England, especially, the vast and practical genius of Roger Bacon rose superior to the shackles of a theory from which it could not wholly emancipate itself. His experiments, which anticipated the discovery of gunpowder, indicate an acquaintance with almost every operation now used in chemistry : so that, if to him

has been assigned the honour of introducing chemistry into Europe, to him also belongs the distinction of having advanced this science towards that perfection, which it has since attained. In the school of experimental knowledge, which Bacon thus founded, alchemy, like astrology, the superstition of true science, by degrees gave place to chemistry properly so called. The laboratories of the West, henceforward, not only exhibited all those processes, and furnished those various preparations, which before were confined exclusively to the Moors and Orientals ; — but chemical operations ceased to be the effects of chance, and were conducted according to fixed principles and rules. It was now, indeed, that the art of chemistry came to be raised into a science. Its subsequent history is linked with the whole intellectual progress of modern Europe. Essentially germinant in its character, from the epoch of its first rise to the present hour, every age, every year, almost every day, has been productive of some new advance or discovery, in chemical science. England, which lays claim to its original introduction in the thirteenth century, has, from that period to the present, maintained her just pretensions to this honour, by the fostering encouragement which she has especially extended to chemical inquiry ;

until, in the nineteenth century, by the consent of admiring Europe, the attainments of her chemists have surpassed all former excellence, and illustrated the reputation acquired, and bequeathed to his country, by the genius of Roger Bacon. The English reader needs not be reminded, that the prime ornament of the first philosophical society in Europe, the illustrious Robert Boyle, was also the great restorer of chemistry, and the first experimentalist of his age; or that the chair of that society has been since filled by the first experimentalist of our own.* Crowned in the mathematical sciences, at an intermediate stage, by the unrivalled fame of Newton, the Royal Society, it will by none be denied, in the person of its late president, has borne away the palm of chemistry from all competitors.

The success of the experiments on gas and steam, has given mankind a new control over the works of art and nature. The powers of the steam-engine †, in particular, an invention but of yesterday, have already superseded all known mechanical forces. On land, they have been identified with almost every branch of human industry; while they command the raging of the

* Sir Humphry Davy, Bart.

† In this practical department, the name of WATT will still maintain the supremacy of England.

sea, by the introduction of a wholly new system of navigation.* It is impossible to contemplate, without wonder and awe, these last and most astonishing results of experimental science. But, while we admire the practical effects, let us not lose sight of the great providential cause. Let it not be forgotten, that the science which has given birth to such unparalleled fruits in modern Europe, is indebted for its origin, to the peculiar genius of the Saracens of Spain and Asia: that if, without the aids of European judgment, chemistry might never have been perfected, without the enterprize, on the other hand, of Arabian enthusiasm, chemistry never might have been. This natural reflection brings us once more to our proper argument; to the parallel effects of Mahometanism and Christianity, on the advancement of human knowledge: in the single department of science here considered, as in the entire history of their twofold operation, the two systems appear so to act, and so to combine together; the one preparing the means, and the other accomplishing the end, as though Isaac,

* To acknowledge the eminent proficiency of America, in the application of steam, especially to the purposes of navigation, is only to pay an additional tribute to Great Britain. It is one and the same national spirit at work, on opposite sides of the Atlantic: and long may it be, before either country is willing to forget their honourable relation, as *parent and child*.

without Ishmael, could not have been made perfect.

The highest medical authorities unite with the voice of common fame, in acknowledging the debt of Europe to the Arabs, for the recovery and improvement of the art of MEDICINE. The Saracens appear to have cultivated, with equal success, the precepts and the practice of medical science. They applied themselves, with extraordinary diligence, to the study of the ancients; until they had mastered, and made their own, whatever was known to the Greeks. Their advances in the newly-discovered science of chemistry soon enabled them to distance their preceptors.

In pharmacy, especially, or the art of preparing medicines, the inventions of chemistry daily enlarged the catalogue of remedies. Not only were the preparations of herbs and simples multiplied, but the precious metals, and precious stones, were now made to contribute to the real or supposed cure of diseases. Whatever there may have been of fanciful in some of these processes, the analysis of the properties of mercury, and the application of this metallic substance to the purposes of medicine, must alone suffice to vindicate the chemical researches of the Arab physicians, and to demonstrate the

value of their experiments on metals and minerals.

Among other important additions to the vegetable medicines, the Saracens first introduced into use rhubarb, tamarinds, cassia, senna, and camphire. For honey, the only substance of its kind known to the ancients, they advantageously substituted sugar; and, by its aid, compounded a great variety of healthful or agreeable preparations. They had early shown a strong propensity for horticulture, and a peculiar aptness for detecting the useful or healing virtues of plants. Their practical genius in this department was improved, by their growing skill in chemistry, into a considerable proficiency in botanical knowledge.*

In the science of medicine properly so termed, the doctrine of symptoms was the favourite and most successful study of the Arabs. The perfection to which their zeal and penetration brought this doctrine, enabled the Saracens to solve many obscure problems in medicine; to trace various diseases from their effects to their causes; and to apply suitable and effectual remedies. They appear to have been particularly conversant with the nature and treatment of affections of the

* Oelsner, p. 202. note 2.

skin ; which is still considered the seat of most of the disorders incident to the human system. To the Saracen physicians, belongs the merit of having first investigated and described the small-pox. They also were the first who understood the nature and management of the measles. The inflammation and abscess of the mediastine, the abscess of the pericardium, and its adherence to the heart, the relaxation and other affections of the throat, with the elephantiasis, are classed, by the admission of the moderns, among those distempers, the symptoms and cures of which, were originally discovered by the medical skill of the Arabians. Besides the several classes of malady which they brought newly to light, the Saracens are said to have greatly improved on their predecessors, in the knowledge of apoplexy * ; hydrophobia, and impediments of the speech ; of sciatica, cancer, and sundry other diseases. In surgery too, although restrained by religious scruples from the practice of anatomy, they invented the critical operation of bronchotomy. Such, on the whole, was the deep and various proficiency of the Saracens in medicine, and its kindred arts, that, in the opinion of one equally eminent as a medical writer and an

* Their *remedies*, it must be confessed, are sometimes rather startling. See Brucker, *Hist. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 79. *note x.*

Orientalist, the learned Sprengel, medical science, even in ~~its~~ present advanced state, might derive important accessions, from the study of the Arabian authors.

The transmission of the art of medicine, from the Saracens, into Catholic Europe, is one of the best-authenticated facts in the history of the reciprocal influences of Mahometanism and Christianity. The medical seminaries of Africa, Spain, and Sicily, supplied the lights of the Norman school of Salerno; "the first," says Mr. Gibbon, "that arose in the darkness of Europe." In this illustrious seat of reviving science, the treasures of Grecian knowledge were first explored, in the works of the Arabian physicians and philosophers. The study of medicine, here, was especially countenanced by the church; and encouraged, not only by the sanction, but by the example, of the Christian ministry. Monks and prelates embraced the medical profession; adding the then venerated dignity of their sacred order, to augment the reputation of a school, of which they were, themselves, among the earliest and brightest ornaments. The most eminent of the physicians of Salerno, almost the father of this school, was a monk of Monte Casino; the celebrated Constantine, a Christian native of Africa, and a pupil

of the still more famous Avicenna. After a scientific pilgrimage of thirty-nine years; spent in the research of knowledge over the East, Constantine, we are told, “ returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians : ” he settled at Salerno, where he long practised and taught. To the lessons and writings of this great man³ may be justly ascribed the subsequent progress of medicine, not only in this, its first Christian seminary, but in the schools which branched out from that of Salerno, into all the countries of Catholic Europe. The derivation, therefore, of the modern art, from Mahometanism, through Christianity, admits not of doubt or question : and if the proper and direct effects of the Mahometan religion are apparent, in the first great revival of medical science, those of the Christian are not less so, in adopting, diffusing, and bringing to perfection, the Saracenic discoveries and improvements.

The subsequent progress of the art of healing; under the fostering care of Christianity, constitutes one of the happiest and noblest triumphs of the social influences of the Gospel. If the munificent policy of the caliphs aided the cause of science, among the Saracens, by the erection, in the chief cities, of hospitals for the reception of the sick, — the more munificent piety of the

catholic church (resuming its prescriptive monopoly of charity, since the *first* hospital was founded by a Christian Father *,) multiplied establishments of this class beyond all former precedent. The slumbering charity of Europe, suddenly awakened from that lethargy of barbarism, under which it had lain oppressed for centuries, was called into universal action, by the exigencies of the crusades, and by the unparalleled sufferings of the Christian pilgrims. Along the principal routes to Jerusalem, numerous hospitals were now raised, for the shelter of the sick and destitute : and the military orders, including in their ranks the princes and prime nobility of Christendom, were expressly founded for their safeguard and superintendence. These foreign institutions became the models for similar establishments at home : in every part of Europe, charitable foundations were endowed, for the treatment and cure of the diseases of the poor ; religious societies were formed for their superintendence ; Christian charity, in a word, arose as the great auxiliary of medical science ; and the art which owed its restoration to the civil influences of Mahometanism, attained its perfection through the moral influences of the Gospel.

* S. Ephrem Syrus, the Deacon of Edessa. This fact is wholly omitted, even by Beckmann, who treats expressly on the subject, *Hist. of Inv.* vol. iv. pp. 467—498. However, he justly ascribes the honour of such benevolent institutions to *Christianity*. Attention is requested to the final note (O), p. 518. of this volume.

The diseases of the human frame, congregated in the European hospitals, became subjected to stricter scrutiny, and left room for broader inductions: the skill of our physicians grew with their increased practice and experience: the theory of medicine was extended and verified by the practice of anatomy, from which, a superstitious, yet laudable reverence for the dead, had deterred both the Greeks and the Arabians. It was in the schools of Italy, the immediate offshoots of that of Salerno, that our illustrious Harvey acquired that anatomical knowledge, of which, the greatest discovery recorded in the annals of medicine, that of the circulation of the blood, was the result and recompense.

In tracing the parallel influences of the Mahometan and Christian faiths, on THE REVIVAL AND PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY, in its several branches, the point of real importance to be determined, is, in what peculiar respects their joint agency on these more abstract studies, contributed to the advancement of the human mind. To ascertain this, it will be essential, that we consider, in the first place, the particular stage at which the two religions successively took up the study of the ancient or Greek philosophy.

The philosophy of the Greeks had obtained its true meridian, in the age of Alexander the

Great. From that period to the downfall of the western empire, notwithstanding the many important accessions which it apparently derived from the labours of its later cultivators, whether Greeks or Romans, the ancient philosophy was really on the decline. The Platonists of the Eclectic school undoubtedly raised the science of moral philosophy, in some respects, to a height unattained by, and unknown to, the greatest of their predecessors. It will be recollected, however, that, where these later sages of antiquity left behind them the paths trodden by Socrates and Plato, they walked by the guidance of a light which was not their own. Christianity had now arisen on the world ; and they, who, in the pride of human wisdom, refused to worship this Sun of Righteousness, were yet contented, in silent ingratitude, to borrow warmth and illumination from its beams. The superior morality of the eclectic Platonists was, in fact, nothing more than systematic plagiarism. A pirated and mangled copy of the Gospel ethics, was their sole addition to the moral teaching of their acknowledged masters in philosophy. The natural consequences may be seen, in the early degeneracy and disappearance of the Eclectic school. Meanwhile, in a providential aspect, it discharged one most important function ; for it

aided in forming the great school of the Christian fathers : but it held absolutely no rank as an independent system ; for it added nothing to the proper philosophy of Greece.

The first step of the Arabs, in their intellectual career, was to overleap the middle term which stood thus interposed between modern and ancient learning. They almost wholly overlooked the later Platonists *, to grapple with the last great master of the Greek philosophy. In the works of Aristotle, they found precisely the food demanded by their clear, penetrating, and experimental genius. The logics and metaphysics of this great philosopher ; his exact system of ethics ; and his practical researches in natural history,—alike met and awakened corresponding qualities in the Saracenic mind. The doctrines of Aristotle, again, were not more congenial to the national intellect of the Arabians, than to the principles of their new religious belief. His philosophy identified nature with religion ; delighted in investigating the chain of causation ; and saw, in each physical effect, the demonstration of a first cause. The Arabs, ac-

* For the degree in which they cultivated the Eclectics, see Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* tom. iii. p. 154. They used them, however, chiefly as indexes to the ancients : thus, the *Isagoge* of Porphyry was translated into Arabic, to serve as a key to Aristotle.

cordingly, bent the undivided force of their genius, to the study of this master ; and, while, in consequence, they raised the peripatetic school to a celebrity which it had never reached in ancient Greece, — they so improved on it, in their inquiries into physical facts, as to lay the foundations of a new philosophical system. Aristotle and the Greeks made few experiments: their experimental reasonings, consequently, were, at best, inconclusive ; and degenerated into subtle distinctions and definitions. His Arabian pupils, on the other hand, following their native practical bias, made large and luminous experiments ; and, though fettered by their habitual reverence for the Aristotelic predicaments, their experimental reasonings, being founded on a broader induction of facts, led to solid practical conclusions. To restore the correspondence of the human mind with the best philosophy of Greece, in its best day ; and to clear a path for the advancement of that philosophy, by improving on it in its more solid and practical branch, the physics of Aristotle, — would seem, then, to have been the peculiar service rendered, to the intellectual polity of the moderns, by the influences of Mahometanism.

At the culminating point in this progress, Christian Europe received the lights of Arabian

learning. When the learning of the Saracens first diffused itself over Europe, and for some ages after, things rested seemingly stationary : at least no very palpable advances were made towards the perfecting of knowledge. The fetters of the Aristotelic predicaments remained unbroken ; or rather appeared to be multiplied and rivetted, by the endless definitions and distinctions of the schoolmen. During this intermediate process, however, under the seeming pause, there was real progress. The intellect of the European nations, which needed just such a whetstone, was sharpened by the subtleties of logical and metaphysical debate. Their taste for physical science (a pursuit peculiarly congenial to the solidity of the Gothic and German character), acquired originally in the schools of the Saracens, gradually enlarged their knowledge of facts, into the first principles of the experimental philosophy. Their superior judgment, meanwhile, imperceptibly disengaged them from the shackles of those abstract theories, which had ensnared and tied down the mercurial temper of the Arabs ; which had checked their experimental career, and held them in permanent and childish subjection to the errors of the Aristotelic system. By the genius and industry of learned churchmen and physicians, the only

scholars of the age, physical facts and experiments were now accumulated ; and sublimed into philosophical principles and laws. To free the practical science of Aristotle from the thralldom of his metaphysics, and thereby to carry forward the true philosophy from the very stage at which the Arabs had stopt short, would appear, therefore, to have been the peculiar service rendered to the cause of learning, by the Christian nations of Europe. And thus, the great providential work, which the intellectual influence of Mahometanism had begun, was conducted, by the intellectual influence of Christianity, towards its last perfection.

The general character of their influences on philosophical inquiry being thus premised, I shall proceed to examine the parallel effects of the two religions, on the history of modern philosophy, in its three great branches ; — logic and metaphysics, ethics, and natural or experimental philosophy.

The LOGICAL AND METAPHYSICAL SCIENCE of the Saracens, which lay at the foundation of their whole intellectual progress, had its rise directly from the influences of the Mahometan religion. In the controversies which necessarily arose with unbelievers, so called, the Koran and the Sonna were soon found to supply but feeble

weapons of defence, against the arguments of Jews and Christians. During its period of war and conquest, the victorious creed of Mahomet needed no other argument than the sword. But, in the long calm which ensued, under the house of Abbas, after the erection of Bagdad, emphatically styled “the city of peace,” Mahometanism found itself exposed to a new species of trial; and was forced into an unequal combat, with adversaries clad in the impenetrable armour of truth and reason, and practised in the warfare of words. The liberal curiosity of the caliphs, first awakened by intercourse and converse with their Christian physicians*, had recently procured some Arabic translations from the Greek; including parts, if not the entire, of the works of Aristotle.† The argumentative subtleties of the Stagyrte offered the only succour, which could give promise of maintaining, for any time, the cause of the Koran, against the advocates of the Old and New Testaments. The Mahometan doctors no sooner saw, than they seized, this vantage-ground; and betook themselves, with all their national fervour, to the study of the Aristotelian logics and metaphysics.‡ The de-

* Brucker, tom. iii. p. 22.

† Ibid. tom. iii. pp. 23—29. 33—35.

‡ Ibid. tom. iii. pp. 31. 143. 152.

finitions, distinctions, and predicaments of this philosophy, were alternately applied, to cloak the nakedness and deformities of their own system of belief, and to introduce perplexity and confusion into the reasonings of their opponents.* The native acumen of the Saracens found its congenial exercise, in the conduct of these debates ; and a pursuit taken up from expediency, was carried on from inclination.

Such are the undoubted origin and history of the Arabian SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY.†

From disputations with the Jews and Christians of the age, the professors of this new science easily and early fell into dissensions and divisions among themselves. Philosophical sects and schisms sprang up in the bosom of Mahometanism. The rival schools of the Ramists, or inquirers into the laws of practical theology, and the radicalists, or investigators of the abstract attributes of the Deity, comprized, each, a variety of subordinate denominations. Metaphysical speculations were, at once, multiplied and subtilized, by theological zeal. The controversy passed from Asia into Africa, and from Africa into Spain. The text of Aristotle, darkened by the obscure

* Brucker, tom. iii. pp. 31. 35. 53—56. 94. 132. cf. Abulfarag. Dynast. ix. p. 217.

† Ib. iii. pp. 56—59. 99.

labours of a host of lesser disputants, was successively illustrated, by the commentaries of Alkendi, Alfarabius, Alasshari, Algazel, Avenpace, Avicenna, and Averroes. The doctrines of liberty and necessity, which had agitated the early Christian church, and the ancient schools of Greek philosophy, were now brought anew into discussion, by the subdivided followers of Mahomet. From its primitive severe simplicity of belief, Mahometanism became transformed into a chaos of contradictory tenets and opinions.* Of its seventy-three sects, some diverged into scepticism and atheism, while others approximated, in a surprising degree, to the peculiar and distinguishing doctrines of Christianity.† Meanwhile, their mutual theological hatred rose to such a height, that each party accounted the belief of the Christians or the Jews far preferable to that of its Mahometan rival; and the measure dealt to principles, extended to persons. The antagonist zealots of logical and metaphysical

* Brucker, iii. 136—142. From this inextricable confusion, the learned historian of philosophy takes just occasion to admonish those sciolists, — “ Qui Muhammedanam religionem *propter simplicitatem* Christianæ præferendam esse contendunt, — *difficilibus disputationibus, et incertis hypothesibus, eam æque ferilem fuisse: inque eo Christianæ religioni postponendam, quod id, quod in hac [Christiana religione] ineptientis et novaturientis ingenii humani vitium fuit, in illa [Muhammedana religione] ex legis suæ inepta indole occasionem sumsit.*” Ut supr. pp. 147, 148.

† Ibid. iii. 50—53. 60. 135, 136.

distinctions, often incurred, each in their turn, the penalty of persecution. These martyrs of religious prejudice, all the while, unconsciously advanced the cause of science. The Saracenic intellect, thus continually whetted and edged by dialectic debate, acquired a force and penetration, which needed but be exercised on substantial objects, in order to lead up to the most valuable practical results. Happily for the advancement of the human mind, the facts of nature presented, and the genius of the Saracens disposed them to lay hold of, such objects. *They* first conjoined abstract science with experiment ; and, by this happy union, did away the defects, and, in a degree wholly unprecedented, augmented the powers, of both. The foundation-stone of the new philosophy was, in this way, laid, by the direct influences of Mahometanism ; but it was reserved for the superior influences of Christianity, to carry on the intellectual structure to its just height, and complete it in its full proportions.

The providential joint agency of the two religions, the one in giving birth, and the other consummation, to the general revival and advancement of learning, has been already traced through the principal branches of human knowledge. In no department of science, however,

is their connection, in the conduct of this great work, more direct or clear, than in the modern history of logics and metaphysics. The effects of Mahometanism on these sciences, have been seen, in the rise of the Arabian scholastic theology ; and the scholastic theology of the Arabians gave origin to the Christian schoolmen. The Spaniards first carried Aristotle, and his Arabian commentators, into France * : and the illustrious inquirers, who sought out wisdom even in the schools of Mahometan Spain, introduced the philosophy taught in these schools, into other parts of Europe. The Stagyrte, at the call of Mahometanism, had, from the commencement of the ninth century, presided with despotic sway, over the philosophy and the faith of the eastern nations : he now passed into the West, under the guidance of Christianity, to erect the throne of his mental and spiritual despotism, among the nations of catholic Europe. In their scholastic theology †, the parallel between the two religions, is, in every sense, complete ; the relation here is one not of resemblance, but of

* An interesting notice of this important fact occurs in Mr. Jacob's " Travels in Spain."

† See D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Titre *Roscha*, for the derivation of the scholastic theology of the West, from Aristotle, through Averroes, Thomas Aquinas, &c. ; and ib. Titre *Sarig*, for its derivation from the Stagyrte through Avenpace.

identity. The Ramists and Radicalists of the Saracens, have their faithful image and reflection, in the Realists and Nominalists of the Christians. Their grounds of debate might differ, but their weapons of warfare were in common: their subtleties of logical and metaphysical conflict; their distinctions, definitions, predicaments; the whole armoury, in a word, of their doctrines and disputations, are literally one and the same in character, and applied to one and the same end, — the explication of religion. Nor can this identity be matter of surprize, when it is recollected, that Aristotle, in an Arabic version, and paraphrased by Arabian commentators, was equally the supreme guide and governor of both parties. The Christian scholastics, like the Mahometan, no sooner became subdivided into hostile sects, than they fell into diverse schisms and heresies. And the nature of the Godhead, the divine attributes, the doctrines of fate, foreknowledge, and free-will, were brought once more into discussion.*

Modern atheism and scepticism may too probably be traced to the incipient tendency of

* The doctrine of *occasional causes*, in particular, as since revived by the followers of Des Cartes, and as taught by Mallebranche, M. Brucker has clearly traced for its origin, to the Saracenic philosophy. Cf. Hist. Phil. tom. iii. p. 145.

opinions entertained by some among the schoolmen; especially by the noted Peter Abelard, reputed the earliest advocate of the principles now professed by the sectarists calling themselves Unitarians. At this crisis, indeed, catholic Christianity would appear to have owed its preservation, wholly to the controlling providence of God, whereby the church had become now invested with absolute power. An ecclesiastico-political despotism, was, apparently, the only arm which could have arrested the fatal progress of unbelief, in an age when the spirit of abstract speculation was without a regulator; when metaphysics moved without the drag-chain of practical science.

In the European commonwealth, however, as before in the Mahometan world, the cause of knowledge was all the while in progress. The minds of men derived edge and acumen, from the exercises of scholastic debate. In the studies of the schools, the enterprize and enthusiasm of the Saracens were gradually engrafted on the constitutional judgment and solidity of the European mind. The fruits of this union were made signally apparent, when the labours of the learned began first to be seriously directed to the cultivation of the experimental science of the Arabians.

In this field, the scholars of the West soon

surpassed their oriental instructors. The intellectual progress of the Saracens, it has been most justly remarked, originated in the combination of mathematical, logical, and experimental science.* Christian Europe received the offspring of this union, in its infancy ; in her hands, it attained its full and perfect stature. The seeds only of the experimental philosophy were sown by Mahometanism : the grain was ripened, and the harvest reaped and gathered in, beneath the fertilizing influences of the Gospel.

The false and shallow philosophy which has presumptuously attempted to arraign the wisdom of Providence, in the several steps of this entire progress, stands triumphantly confuted and convicted, by THE RESULT.† In the Saracen empire, and in catholic Europe, the subtleties of a scholastic theology equally preceded the birth of the experimental philosophy. Can it be rationally questioned, that they prepared the way for this great discovery ? In both republics, we see the experimental philosophy a common consequence

* Turner.

† “ How often may it be observed in history, as in private life, that the course of events is better directed to the end desired, than if the persons most interested in the success could themselves have ordered it ! ” History of the Peninsular War, vol. i. p. 610.

This golden reflection, so justly and finely applied to the seemingly untoward circumstances of a military convention,* is one of general application ; and belongs, with at least equal truth and justness, to other subjects, and to other times.

of intellectual progress. Can we hesitate to refer it to the earliest term in that progress, the scholastic theology, for its common cause? In fine, — to resume our great fundamental principle,—the integral connection of the Aristotelian logics and metaphysics, in every stage of their twofold revival, with the history of the Mahometan and the Christian scholastic theology, amounts to a matter-of-fact demonstration, that the world is strictly and properly indebted, for the restoration of these sciences, with all its important consequences, to the providential influences of the two opposed religions.

Even in the time of ignorance, as the Arabs term their state before the rise of Mahomet, traces may be observed of an indigenous aptness, in the Saracen genius, for the pursuit of MORAL SCIENCE.

Among the ante-Mahometan Arabians, in every age, seeds of moral truth appear to have been embodied in sentences and aphorisms; a form of instruction proverbially congenial to the temper of the Orientals, and peculiarly cultivated by the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula. These elementary indications of the national mind were early developed by the influence of the new religion. Not to notice, in this connection, the moral teaching of the Koran

itself, we find, in the sentences of the Caliph Ali *, a summary of principles and precepts, easily reducible, by an orderly arrangement, into a system of moral philosophy. The lights of the Greek philosophy, therefore, in the reign of Almamon, broke in upon a people strongly predisposed to the investigation of moral truth. In the ethics of Aristotle, the Saracens discovered a rule of action, in accordance with the first principles of their religious belief; unfolded with an order and arrangement, to which they had hitherto been strangers. Aristotle, accordingly, thenceforward, became their chosen preceptor in morals, as well as in metaphysical science. And, as his logic laid the foundation of the Arabian scholastic theology, his ethics furnished Mahometanism with a philosophy of practice and of life. From the period, accordingly, of their adoption of the peripatetic system, the ethical spirit of the Saracens appeared in its full lustre and vigour. The school of philosophy which now arose, reckoned some among its disciples, who, in practice no less than in theory, left altogether behind the low and relaxed morality of their creed. And the names of several are mentioned, who composed treatises on morals, of the most exalted character.†

But, what it most concerns us to notice, some

* See sect. v.

† Brucker, tom. iii. p. 63.

of the most illustrious names in the history of Arabian learning, rank equally high in the list of practical moralists.

Thus, it is related of Al-Farabi, that, although of noble parentage, and born to a splendid inheritance, he privately forsook his native province and his father's house, that he might dedicate his life to the study of philosophy. He withdrew to Bagdad, where he formed his mind in the school of the celebrated Mesuah, the *Christian* physician and friend of Al-Raschid. Al-Farabi studied the philosophy, not of the head only, but of the heart; and the fruits of his labours were visible, in an exemplary life. The vanity of all things earthly, the baseness of ambition, wealth, and pleasure, as objects of pursuit or attraction for an immortal mind, were the lessons he loved and taught; and his principles were illustrated and ennobled by his practice. He rejected every overture, (and they were frequent and urgent,) to draw him, from his studious retirement, to the court of the Caliph: and refused, on returning to his own country, to share the ease and luxury of the parental roof, that he might give his mind and heart, without reserve, to the search after wisdom, — to the acquirement of those possessions, which cannot be taken away, and which he esteemed the only safeguard against the ills and incommodities of life. Such was the abstinence of this

great man, that, even in the depth of winter, his couch was a pallet of straw ; such his sense of the imperfection, uncertainty, and distraction of human affairs, that a philosophic poverty seemed to him the only means left, to secure the possession and enjoyment of a tranquil mind : according to his own beautiful saying, “ Barley bread, and well water, and a coarse woollen garment, with peace, are better than raptures terminating in remorse.” *

Another example of the practical study of morals among the Arabians, may be instanced in the case of the famous Avenpace : whom a kindred philosopher has characterized, as “ approaching nearest to the truth ; ” and, on the very title of whose treatise on “ The departure or withdrawal of the soul, from things earthly, to God,” is stamped the impress of a moral mind.†

But, as contemplative moralists, the palm of Mahometan ethics may deservedly be assigned to Al-Gazal‡, and to the author of the profound philosophical romance of Hai Ebn Yokdan, Ebn Thophail.

The latter, the illustrious preceptor of Averroës and Maimonides, drank deeply and enthu-

* Brucker, tom. iii. pp. 71—74.

† Ibid. iii. 92.

‡ “ He was so much honoured by his own sect, that he was called, as by his proper name, *حجة الاسلام زين الدين*, ‘ The Demonstration of Islamism, the Ornament of Religion.’ ” Sale, *Unpublished MS.*

siastically of the ethical spirit of Aristotle. He embodied the best and purest principles of this philosopher, in his celebrated romance. The story of this elegant production (which, perhaps, prompted the conception of Beattie's "Minstrel,") represents the history of an infant left exposed to the waters of a flood, from which it was miraculously rescued: the boy is nurtured by a doe; and growing up to manhood apart from all human society, using only the inborn light of reason, Hai Ebn Yokdan gradually ascends, from the knowledge of things natural, to that of things supernatural, until he arrives at the knowledge of God himself, and of his own immortal soul; and reposes at length, in the attainment of perfect happiness, in a union with God, and in the vision of the infinite perfection of the Divine nature, seen "face to face." The originality, beauty, and moral truth, of this exquisite fable, have been warmly eulogized by the moderns. The testimony borne by Leibnitz is the most remarkable: — "This admirable volume," he exclaims, "is alone a convincing proof, that the Arabians philosophized on the Divine nature, with a sublimity no way inferior to the loftiest reaches of our best Christian philosophers themselves." *

* Brucker, tom. iii. p. 95, 96.

The moral philosophy of Al-Gazal, also imbibed in the Aristotelic school of ethics, possesses a character equally exalted and ennobling. When treating of the happiness of the soul in a future state, the meditations of this eminent moralist break forth in the following noble passage: — “We affirm that all utility is vile in comparison of eternal felicity; the felicity of another life. This happiness must depend on the perfection of the soul; which will consist of two things, — purity and ornament. To be pure, the soul must be purged from all sordid manners, and be kept from all base phantasies. In its adornment, the certainty of truth should be so depicted on it, as that divine truths may be revealed to it. The mind is a mirror, which cannot be perfect, unless the most beautiful forms are reflected in it.” Speaking, in another place, of God, he says: — “He is the true and pure Being within himself; and the origin of every other. He, therefore, is perfect, — and the most perfect. All things whatsoever have their existence from Him; and the comparison of other beings to this Being, is as the comparison of the light of other bodies to the glory of the sun: for the sun shines by itself, and not by another illumining it. As that is the foundation of light to all lucidity, so with Him, the first Being, are the keys of all science, and

from Him proceed the wisdom and knowledge of every thinking being. He who is blessed for ever, knows all the possible and the contingent. Nothing is so small as to escape his notice. But for His comprehension, there is no comparison." From this sublime contemplation of the Deity, descending to angels and men, he writes: — "Angels are always in the contemplation of His perfections, and therefore their delight has no end. From their propinquity to the Lord of ages, their joy transcends our joy. To obey Him, to behold Him, to love Him, constitutes their glory and their felicity: — and when we shall be separated from this body by death, our enjoyment will be as perfect. That which is now hidden, will then be revealed; our happiness will continue for ever; we shall attain to the sublimest truths; and we shall be the companions of the angels in their propinquity to the PRIMÆVAL TRUE ONE, not in locality merely, but in affection and beneficence."*

To offer a single observation on these golden sentences, were a wrong done to the moral judgment of the reader: it may be more appropriate to remark, that their author lived as he taught. In the meridian of his fame, as pro-

* Turner, History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. iv. p. 447, 448.

fessor of philosophy at Bagdad, Al-Gazal unexpectedly laid down his honourable office; he drew around him the poor of the city, and distributed among them the collected emoluments of his professorship; and, clothing himself in the habit of a hermit, undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, dedicating the remainder of his life, with exemplary piety, to the study and the duties of religion.*

The philosophy of Al-Gazal, indeed, in every period of his course, had been strenuously applied to the vindication of the Mahometan faith: he engaged largely in controversy, with both Jews and Christians; making the circle of knowledge, in all its rays, tributary to the interests and advancement of his religion. The remark may be extended to the Mahometan moralists generally, in the age of Saracenic learning: the illustration or defence of their theological belief, was the origin and end of their ethical, as well as of their metaphysical, science. In morals, no less than in metaphysics, consequences, far beyond any they contemplated, flowed from their indefatigable labours: but, in whatever point of view we contemplate the phenomena, the lights of Arabian learning are inseparable from the influences of Mahometanism.

* Brucker, tom. iii. p. 93, 94.

The subsequent agency of Christianity, as might well be anticipated, was still more conspicuous and efficacious in the developement, than that of Mahometanism had proved in the revival, of the principles of MORAL SCIENCE. Western Christendom, however, together with the writings of Aristotle, received the first rudiments of ethics, from the hands of the African and Spanish Saracens. In this first of human studies, the nearest in dignity to the knowledge of the true God, Aristotle was still the master of the fathers of European learning, and his Arabian commentators their guides. Nor was it merely by their versions and their comments, that the Saracens contributed to the restoration of ethics, as a science, in Christian Europe. Various original treatises on morals, composed by Al-Gazal, and by others of their most eminent philosophers, were, about the same period, translated, and perused, in the common learned language of Europe.

The providential character of the connection between the two religions, in their co-operation for the general diffusion of knowledge, is singularly strengthened, (a fact which must presently come under a more distinct notice,) by the intervention of an unlooked-for middle term ; by the agency of God's forsaken and apostate people, the proscribed and outcast Jews. This link may

be seen to much advantage, in tracing the early history of modern ethics. From the moment in which their attention was drawn to Arabian learning, the Jews applied themselves, with intense interest, to the moral and mystic philosophy of the Saracens. They translated into Hebrew some of their most approved and instructive treatises : as, for example, the work of Avenpace * on the withdrawal of the soul from things earthly, unto God ; and the Hai Ebn Yokdan of Ebn Thophail. Their translations from the Arabic into Latin were still more numerous ; so that to this medium seems owing, in great part, the introduction of the Mahometan ethics into Catholic Europe.

The fortunes of the philosophical romance of Ebn Thophail, may be selected as a specimen of the place occupied by Mahometanism, in the history of Christian ethics. This piece, for which the Jews always entertained the highest veneration, was repeatedly translated into Hebrew ; into which idiom it was first rendered by Rabbi Moses of Narbonne. The original happily escaped from the general wreck of Arabic literature, which ensued on the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. A copy fell into the hands

* " His ancestors were Hebrews." Sale, MS. cf. J. Leo. African. De Viris Illustr. ap. Arabes, cap. 15.

of the elder Pocock ; who, equally captivated by the moral of the fable, and by its style, assigned to his son the task of preparing and publishing it, accompanied by a Latin version. He discussed, in a learned preface, the author and argument of the book. The story of Hai Ebn Yokdan became generally known and admired on the Continent; and was soon naturalized at home. England, it has been well remarked, has ever afforded a congenial soil for the products of moral genius : from whatever climates transplanted, they here find kindred natures, and breathe kindred air. The learned Ashwell first gave to the world this beautiful Arabian fiction in an English dress. Its mystical character so recommended it, in particular, to the Society of "Friends," that, at the desire of his community, it was translated into English a second time, by George Keith. Even this slight outline of the history of a single work, may suffice, in the way of illustration, to point out the fact, and the stages, of the undoubted connection between Mahometanism and Christianity, in the modern history of ethics.

In the introductory chapter * of this work, enough has been already advanced to indicate, generally, the place held by the Arabians in the history of the EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY ; and

* See Introduction, especially pp. 50—54.

to show the dependence of this prolific source of knowledge, the parent of all our great modern improvements, on the proper and peculiar influences of the Mahometan religion. It has been there correctly stated, that to “them we are indebted for the revival of natural, and for the rise of experimental philosophy.”* It may here be added, that the rise of the science of experiment among the Saracens, was wholly owing to their restoration of that of physics. The object at present in view, is to apportion to Christianity and Mahometanism their rightful shares, in the invention and application of this master-key to all the sciences; by tracing briefly the leading steps of that progress, from practical experiments to experimental principles, which connects the illustrious names of Avicenna and Averroes, with the still more illustrious merits of the two Bacons and of Boyle.

The physics of Aristotle, it has been shown under a former head, were the foundation, on which the Saracens erected their school of natural philosophy. After his example, they studied the facts of nature: but, hurried on by the native enthusiasm of their genius, exercising itself in a congenial pursuit, they soon altogether outstripped their preceptor, in the extent, variety,

* Turner.

and correctness of their experiments. The discovery of the science of chemistry, and the consequent improvement of the art of medicine, supplied facilities for the enlargement of their physical knowledge, which comparatively reduced to a state of infancy, the best physical knowledge of Aristotle and of the Greeks.

The Saracens were not a people to converse long with facts, without employing them in the service of reason. It does not appear, indeed, that they formally generalized their experiments; deduced from them rules of philosophizing; or laid down systematized principles of induction. But what they omitted in form, they did in fact. They meditated, they reasoned, they acted, on their experiments. And, by the intimacy and correctness of their acquaintance with physical phenomena, they drew from them, in frequent instances, unconsciously, perhaps, to themselves, the justest philosophical conclusions.

The generic character of these sages has been drawn by the pen of Mr. Sharon Turner: what cannot be done better, and could hardly be done so well, it is but common justice to the subject to produce, in the language of a master. — “ The Arab philosophers were men, who combined with an acuteness and activity of mind that has never been surpassed, all the knowledge which industry

could then attain. What they knew, they knew thoroughly; they reasoned with subtlety, but they made their knowledge the foundation of their logic. There is a clearness, a penetration, an information, and a correctness about their reasoning, which spreads a brightness over every subject they handle. To the patient investigation of the Alexandrian mathematicians, they united the active subtlety of the Grecian sophists; but poured, at the same time, from their discursive intellects, all the natural information which their chemical and mineralogical researches could then supply. They refused no labour in the acquisition of knowledge, or the discovery of truth; and it was this combination of mathematic, logical, and experimental mind, which so rapidly improved themselves, and from them has so highly exalted the intellect of Europe. They were true philosophers. They loved intellectual pursuits, from an intense feeling of their excellence. They believed the perfection of the human nature to rest in these; and they struggled, unwearied, to attain them.—They were superior to the Greeks, by combining their logic and metaphysics *with experimental philosophy*; and for the nobler religious principles which some of them infused into their reasonings.”*

* History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. iv.

It is not, however, alone from the writings of the Saracen philosophers, but from the effects, also, of those writings on their European contemporaries, that we learn to appreciate their labours at the real value; — to understand the progress which they had silently made in the philosophy of physics, from *facts* to *principles*, from *experiments* to *laws*. The greatest men do not advance greatly beyond their age; the greatest discoveries have their origin and groundwork in the previous studies and pursuits of the inventors. When, therefore, we find the true principle of the experimental philosophy, the great discovery of the moderns, unfolded in England by contemporary genius, and that genius originally formed in the school of the Saracens, there is no room left for doubt, as to the source of its inspiration.

Such is the position occupied by the celebrated Roger Bacon. He was strictly and properly an experimentalist of the Saracenic school: in his works, and especially in his *Opus Majus*, he continually adduces his Arabian masters; placing their authority on a par even with that of Aristotle. His discoveries, it follows, are an index to the true state and progress of experimental science among the Arabians. Now Friar Bacon was the undoubted, though unowned, original,

whence his great namesake drew the materials of his famous experimental system. In the *Opus Majus*, and in the *Novum Organum*, we find, again and again, the fundamental laws of this system announced; uniformly the same in substance, often in the same words. If the reader will please to consult both works, for “the general causes of ignorance,” he can hardly fail to be impressed, by the coincidence observable in the equal number, and parallel character, of the causes assigned by these two great writers.* Roger Bacon instructs us, that “experimental science lords it over the other sciences, as its handmaids; and, therefore, the whole power and propriety of speculative wisdom is especially attributed to that science.†” Lord Bacon pronounces, that “mathematics and logic ought to deport themselves as the handmaids of physics (or experimental philosophy), in place of presuming, as they do, to domineer over that science.‡—

* General causes of ignorance.

Roger Bacon.

1. *Fragilis et indignæ auctoritatis exemplum.*
2. *Consuetudinis diuturnitas.*
3. *Vulgi sensus imperiti.*
4. *Propriæ ignorantie occultatio, cum ostentatione sapientie apparentis.*

Lord Bacon.

1. *Idola tribus.*
2. *Idola specus.*
3. *Idola fori.*
4. *Idola theatri.*

† “*Scientia experimentalis imperat aliis scientiis, sicut ancillis suis,* ‡ “*Mathematica et logica, quæ ancillarum loco erga physicam*

“The rest of the sciences,” the former observes, “arrive at the discovery of their principles, by experiments; but at conclusions, by arguments formed from the principles thus experimentally discovered.”* And again:—“If we give ourselves to experiences, at the same time, particular, and complete, and certified at every point by the rules of a proper discipline, we must proceed by considerations drawn from that science, which is distinguished by the title of the experimental.” Of the experimental philosophy, the latter remarks, that “it extracts axioms from particulars, by ascending consecutively and gradually, in order that it may arrive, in the end, at the broadest generalities.”† Again, that this science

et ideo tota sapientiæ *speculativæ* proprietas *isti scientiæ* specialiter attribuitur.” Op. Maj. p. 476. ed. Jebb.

* “*Scientiæ aliæ sciunt sua principia invenire per experimenta; sed conclusiones per argumenta facta ex principiis inventis.*” Op. Maj. p. 448.

“Si attendamus ad experientias *particulares*, et completas, et omnino in propria disciplina certificatas, necessarium est ire per considerationes *scientiæ experimentalis*. Ibid.

se gerere debeant, — dominatum contra exercere præsumant.” Bacon’s Works, vol. vii. p. 204.

† “A sensu et *particularibus* excitat *axiomata* ‡ ascendendo continenter et gradatim, ut ultimo loco perveniatur ad *maxime generalia*; quæ via vera est, sed *intentata*.” Nov. Org. § 4.

‡ With Lord Bacon, *axiomata* and *principia*, are synonymous terms. See Nov. Org. § 104. p. 53.

must proceed by ascent and descent, — “by ascending first from particulars to axioms, and thence descending to practical operations.” Much closer verbal coincidences might be adduced: but in these passages we have the true germ of the Baconian philosophy; and as definitely exhibited by Roger Bacon, as by Sir Francis. Yet the concluding assertion of Lord Bacon is, — “This is the true, but *untried* method!” *

* “*Via vera est, sed intentata.*” The correctness of the unqualified assertion shall be left to the judgment of the reader, after perusal of the principle of philosophizing laid down by Friar Bacon, in his doctrine “*De secunda prerogativa scientiæ experimentalis.*” These are his memorable words: — “*Veritates magnificas in terminis aliarum scientiarum, in quas per nullam viam possunt illæ scientiæ, hæc sola scientiarum domina speculativarum potest dare, &c. Et possunt poni exempla manifesta de his; sed in istis omnibus quæ sequuntur, non oportet hominem inexpertum quærere rationem ut primo intelligat, hanc enim nunquam habebit, nisi prius habeat experientiam; unde oportet primo credulitatem fieri, donec secundo sequitur experientia, ut tertio ratio comitetur.*” Op. Maj. p.465.

Of this *via vera*, Roger Bacon, indeed, most truly says, that “*Nec Aristoteles, nec Avicenna, in suis naturalibus, hujusmodi rerum notitiam nobis dederunt; nec Seneca, qui de eis librum composuit specialiter; sed scientia experimentalis ista certificat.*” (p. 448.) But how his illustrious relative and follower could, with the Opus Majus before him, term it *via intentata*, it might seem difficult for Lord Bacon himself satisfactorily to explain.

If by *untried*, Lord Bacon meant *not practically generalized*, he claims but what is his undeniable and undivided due,—the *development* and *promulgation*, of the experimental system of philosophy. But is its *invention* a matter of minor interest? Or is it becoming, is it honourable in the *promulgator*, to pass over in silence the kindred merits of the *inventor*? For, if the graduated and continuous ascent, from *particulars* to *generals*, from *facts* to *inductions*, from *practical experiments* to *abstract reasonings* and *conclusions*, — if the application, in a word, of *experimental science*, as the

The expression is rendered more remarkable, by the fact, that Lord Bacon, through his whole works, makes but a single mention of his illustrious precursor, and that *not* in connection with his experimental system. The omission is not well: not to mention moral considerations, it might deservedly bring into suspicion the originality of a writer less original than Lord Bacon; but him it could not so affect, for his genius was, in every thing, supreme. The due acknowledgment, however, of his debt to Roger Bacon, must have raised, instead of lowering, his unrivalled merits. He found the philosophy of his great namesake a dead letter, and he breathed into it the breath of life. He, first, adjusted and graduated the laws of experiment; defined the just steps of the ascending and descending scales, by which the mind was to proceed,

master-key to all other sciences, as that which alone “*veritates magnificas in terminis aliarum scientiarum potest dare*,”—if this be the root and germ of the Baconian system, then is the palm of discovery an honour due, not to Sir Francis, but to Roger Bacon. So far, however, is Lord Chancellor Bacon from noticing the prior claim, that he will not allow of *any advance* having been made, before his own time and labours, on the Grecian school of philosophy! Whereas the chief, perhaps the only, difference between the illustrious relatives, was this, that Roger Bacon struck the true chord, at a period when the instrument was not yet in tune; while his more favoured disciple found the mechanism perfect, and when he struck, the harmony was every where heard and felt, and the voice of Europe responded to the sound.

through the medium of experiments, to sure axioms, and, by sure axioms, to sound and legitimate conclusions. In a word, he defined the vital distinctions, between the imperfect and the perfect method, of an analytic scheme of reasoning. Within the grasp of his gigantic genius, the collected streams of knowledge which flowed in upon Europe at the general revival of letters, compressed into a single channel, were brought to bear on his project for the advancement of learning. The vast superstructure is his own. But his fundamental principle (the reflection is a painful one) was taken, without acknowledgment, from the unpublished *Opus Majus*.⁴ The matter of fact may be verified, by every reader who will be at the pains to collate the concluding treatise of that work, the treatise on experimental science, with the parallel passages of Lord Bacon.⁵

Nor is the coincidence confined to the fundamental principle : it comprizes also some of the most important deductions of the experimental philosophy. The experiments, for example, on the rainbow, as described in the *Opus Majus*, seem to comply with every rule of analysis laid down by Verulam ; and to be, in the proper sense, an exemplification of the luciferous rather

than the fructiferous, order of experiments. Again, we find in the *Opus*, the Baconian law of experiments, which transfers the reasonings of experimental science, to the resolution of the most important truths in all the other sciences. Both authors, in fine, agree in requiring, as the only introductory passport to the true philosophy, implicit faith, teachableness, and the spirit of a little child.

The inventions of Lord Bacon and of Roger Bacon were, therefore, in essence, the same. But the genius of Roger Bacon, though he too seems to disclaim the admission of predecessors in his great discovery, was undoubtedly kindled and fed at the fountain of Saracenic illumination. If he was the first, formally to announce to the world the principle of the experimental philosophy, — that principle, on the other hand, was first presented to his own mind, through the medium of accumulated facts and experiments, collected by the patient and penetrating genius of his Arabian masters. Thus, by the influences of Mahometanism, was the impulse originally given, whether directly or indirectly matters little, which the influences of Christianity, in the person of an ecclesiastic, made eventually instrumental to the creation of a law of philo-

sophy, which, in its progressive consequences, bids fair to perfect the illumination of the human mind.

LITERATURE is the only department of human knowledge, in which it remains for us, to examine and estimate the common and comparative effects of Mahometanism and Christianity.

Two branches of polite letters were chiefly cultivated by the Saracens; Poetry and Romance. Both were in use among the Arabs, long before the time of Mahomet; and, if we may judge by the undoubted antiquity of a single piece, one of these branches, the romance, would seem to have been a native growth of the Arabian peninsula. The *Moallakat*, and other remains of ante-Mahometan antiquity, attest what is said in the Mahometan traditions, respecting the genius of the Saracens for poetry. The ante-Mahometan romance of *Antar*, a production original in its kind, and of extraordinary perfectness and power, strongly supports the claim of Arabia to the invention, and communication to Europe, of the romance style of writing. *Antar*, in point of date, if we descend even from the unknown period of its origin, to its publication in the reign of the Caliph *Al Raschid*, certainly precedes all European specimens of the romance now extant.* It is

* The *Ethiopica* of *Heliodorus*, and other specimens of the same class, have no affinity to the romance properly so called.

the only specimen of the style existing in the world, before the tenth century, complete in the form and characters proper to the romance. When, therefore, the pretensions of the Bretons and Anglo-Normans are set up, it should be recollected, that we set up the rude and ill-traced relics of Northman barbarism, against the evidence of a perfect and prior model of the genuine romance.

The tenacity of national manners ingrained in the character of the Saracens, affords an assurance stronger than any reasonings, that the propagation of their native poetry and romance must have kept pace with that of the Arabian empire and idiom. In the generous countenance extended to letters, by the Abbassides and Ommiades, in the eighth century, these favourite studies of the primitive Arabians were by no means forgotten. They flourished, with equal honours and rewards, under the former dynasty in Asia, and under the latter in Spain. In the perpetual intercourse of peace and war, the transit of these lighter studies was easy, and, from their popular nature, would be early, from Saracen into Christian Spain. Accordingly, before the eleventh century of the Christian era, the poetical romances of the Spanish Saracens appear to have kindled a spirit,

which soon crossed the interjacent kingdoms, to strike root and flourish in the South of France. The Moorish origin of the old Spanish literature is supported by an accumulation of evidence. The oriental sententiousness of the style, the glowing and heroic enthusiasm of the narrative, with the entire subjects and details of the original stories, unite in bearing witness to the primitive derivation of the Spanish romances, from the contact of the Christian Spaniards with the Moors. While the existence of Moorish romances of the same character, in the original Arabic, gives to these internal marks a full, and it ought to be presumed, a conclusive confirmation. The Arabian origin of their art may be seen, hardly less distinctly, in the songs and ballads of the southern troubadours and provençals. The contagion spread, with the enlargement of the general collision between the antagonist creeds. During the era of the crusades, the spirit of chivalry, first caught by Christian Europe from the Saracens, found a congenial food in their heroic poetry and chivalrous romance.* The infection

* In his interesting notice of the "illustrious name of ARTHUR, the hereditary prince of the Silures," Mr. Gibbon has given the true origin of the romance:—"Pilgrimage, and the holy wars, introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairies and giants, flying dragons and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the West; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the predictions, of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur, and

thus (happily for the cause of good manners, the natural companions of good morals) imbibed in Palestine, was carried by the returning crusaders into Italy, and thence became gradually diffused over the West. But it was especially in the soil of the flourishing Italian states, that these first seeds of refinement struck deep root. The rude measures, and barbarous sounds, of the *volgare*, were now subdued into the regular form and cadence of exact composition. The romance, as well as the ballad, at the same time, came insensibly to be regulated by the laws of dramatic effect. The silent progress went on, until, in the thirteenth century, the matured fruit of these apparently light and trivial studies suddenly disclosed their full-grown perfection, in the rise of the classical prose style of modern Italy, and in the immortal verse of Dante.*

the Knights of the Round Table; their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length, the light of science and reason was re-kindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and, by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the existence of Arthur." Decl. and Fall, vol. vi. p. 392.

The existence of Arthur, Mr. Gibbon rests on "the simple and circumstantial testimony of Nennius." For the progress of romance, in the middle ages, he refers his readers to the two dissertations prefixed to Warton's History of English Poetry. On the latter subject, great light has been thrown since his time; Warton's book, especially, has had valuable accessions, in the late excellent edition,

* See Heeren, p. 439.

The subsequent productions of Italian genius, especially the extravagant flights of Boiardo and Ariosto, may serve to show how deeply Italy was, from the first, imbued with the Saracenic literature. But the contagion of this literature was universal. In the thirteenth century, the rhymes and romances of France and Italy were already popularized in England. In the ruder age of our annals, the muse of Chaucer was indirectly kindled by the genius of Arabia; in their proudest day, the inspirations of that genius may be read and felt, in the works of Spencer, of Shakspeare, and of Milton, — some of the most perfect monuments, that human genius ever bequeathed to the admiration of mankind. Milton, in particular, drank deep, at the fountain-head of that Italian literature, which bears the clearest tokens of having emanated from the Saracen; a well-known fact, which, in no inconsiderable degree, connects the “Paradise Lost” with the mental influences of Mahometanism.

From the view which has been taken, in the present section, of the parallel influences of Mahometanism and Christianity, on arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature, we may now advantageously pass to the consideration of some particulars in the means, or, if the expression be allowable, the machinery of Providence, by

which, more immediately, the intellectual stores acquired by the followers of Mahomet, were transferred to the disciples of Christ and the Gospel. In the earlier stages of Saracenic improvement, their mutual hatred and hostility must have precluded any considerable peaceful intercourse between Mahometans and Christians: nor, prior to the crusades, was Western Christendom in a position to reap even the benefits of hostile communication, with Mahometan light and refinement. Judging from the nature of the difficulty, Divine Providence would appear the only power competent, by a special interference, to provide, at this crisis, a suitable middle term: and the Christian reader will not fail to recognize the finger of Divine Providence in the appointment, when he finds the requisite medium provided, by the introduction of the JEWS.

This miraculous people, the wonder of the world, equally in their rise, and in their unparalleled reverses, had long languished under the yoke of the Christian empires, in the East and West. After the fall of the eastern empire before the arms of the Saracens, the Jews of Asia, for a time, suffered heavy persecution. At the very period, however, in which they were most oppressed by the bigotry of the Asiatic caliphs,

a door of escape was opened for them, by the wise and enlarged policy of the princes of the house of Ommiah, in Spain. In the Spanish peninsula, indeed, from the period of its first reduction, in which they largely assisted, the Jews had experienced, from the Saracen conquerors, special protection and countenance. Made aware by experience, of the importance of these colonists to the prosperity of the state, the first Abderahmans gladly invited their suffering brethren, to emigrate from Syria into Spain. The summons was joyfully obeyed: the emigrations were many and large; in one instance, the numbers amounted to fifty thousand Syrian Jews. The expectations of their benefactors were not disappointed. The Jews, thenceforward, exclusively possessed the commerce of the peninsula: and Spain, through their instrumentality, soon acquired a monopoly of the chief commerce of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Under a higher superintendence, the Spanish Jews, it appears, had a nobler function appointed them to discharge. In their new-found prosperity, they manifested, once more, some traces of that mental and moral dignity, which had belonged to their character, as the chosen people of God; and which, however forfeited by long apostasy, and obscured by many mis-

fortunes, had not then, and as yet never have, been altogether effaced. They now betook themselves, with all the zeal of novices, to the study of the Arabian and Aristotelic philosophy. From the age of Honain, to that of Maimonides, their most celebrated Rabbins formed their minds and manners in this school. And, by a singular and mysterious Providence, it was so ordered, in the event, that the forsaken offspring of Isaac, recovered, for a season, from the extremity of their shame, were raised socially, mentally, and morally, by the hand of the descendants of Ishmael, and by the fostering influences of Mahometanism : — were raised, in the critical hour, — the birth-day of the first general revival of letters, to become instruments, in the hands of an over-ruling power, (and they were then, in virtue of the very curse under which they laboured, and which rendered them restless wanderers upon the earth, the sole adequate and capable instruments,) for conveying over Western Christendom, the early lights of Arabian science and philosophy.* — A dispensation of Providence, in which, “in the midst of wrath,” God appears as though “still remembering mercy ;”

* “The sciences cultivated by the Arabians, were introduced into Europe, by the Moors settled in Spain and Portugal, and by the Jews, who were very numerous in both these kingdoms.” Robertson’s *Hist. of America*, vol. i. p. 59.

as though, in thus suffering his fallen people to be still employed for good, he would give a silent pledge, that he will never utterly "leave them, nor forsake them."

The peculiar fitness of the outcast Jews for this providential function, it is impossible for us Christians to survey, without wonder and adoration. Bound together by the strongest of human ties, the community of misfortune; dispersed every where throughout the world, yet every where united; — the Jews maintained, at once, an universal contact with other nations, and the strictest intercommunity within themselves. Their commercial enterprize, in an age when they were almost the sole commercial people, conciliated the politic favour of the Mahometan princes, and compelled the reluctant toleration of the feudal despots of Europe. It was among a people, thus exclusively qualified for disseminating whatever they adopted, that the science and philosophy of the Saracens first became objects of interest and study.*

* It was, as Doctor Robertson informs us, through the medium of the *Jews of Spain*, that "geometry, astronomy, and geography, the sciences on which the art of navigation is founded, became objects of studious attention." *History of America*, vol. i. p. 59.

The providential agency of this extraordinary people appears, therefore, not only in facilitating and furthering the advancement of Europe, but in contributing to the discovery of America. Accordingly, we find the illustrious Don Henry, in the infancy of his great projects, consulting with "the Jews settled in Portugal;" his grand-nephew, King John, dispatch-

Fanatically wedded to a fallen faith, like the Mahometans to a false one, the Jews, after their example, found and took refuge in philosophy, from the defectiveness of the Mosaic law, and the absurdities of their vain traditions. The spirit of intellectual investigation once awakened, their national character insured unwearied diligence and perseverance. They read, they rendered, they commented on, their Arabian masters. They cultivated, with equal and emulous zeal, the sciences of experimental philosophy, metaphysics, and morals. They even consulted, and copied after, the poetry of the Saracens. And from this time forward, to the epoch of the crusades, we observe the Jews converted into the mental, as well as commercial, carriers of the world.

If the intervention of a Providence be not denied in every case, it must be admitted here. None other but a race like this, without a country, and without a home ; at once in enmity and alliance

ing Portuguese Jews to Egypt, in order that they might meet and direct his emissaries, on their return from an over-land expedition of inquiry into India ; and Ferdinand the Catholic, of Spain, appointing " two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, *whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind,*" his commissioners, in consort with the Bishop of Ceuta, to confer with Columbus, on the subject of his project for the discovery of a new world. Compare Robertson, *ut suprà*. pp. 62. 79, 80. 96, 97. Such, in a word, at this period, was the superior science of the Jews, that it exacted deference from their very persecutors ; and triumphed even over the dark prejudices of Spanish intolerance !

with every other nation, and at unity within itself; devoted alike to the cause of their religion, and to the thirst of gain, — but ready to compromise religious prejudice itself through “the love of money *;” alternately drawn by avarice, and driven by persecution, “to and fro throughout the earth;” — and inoculated, lastly, with the true passion of literary enthusiasm; — none but such a people, could, from the eighth century inclusive to the era of the holy wars, have opened and maintained an intellectual interchange, between western Christendom, and the Mahometan world. No conceivable instrumentality, save one like this, could have effected the momentous object. And the solitary instance of such an instrumentality existing among men, brings us, once more, to the seed of Abraham; and again conducts us to the twofold promises of God. At this extraordinary juncture it is, that we see the covenants of Isaac and Ishmael united, for the one great providential end: and Mahometanism, Judaism, and Christianity, standing forth together, the joint enlighteners of the world.

The analogous influences of the two covenants

* It was surely not without reference to the besetting sin of his unhappy countrymen, that Saint Paul wrote those awful words, — *Πρὶν γὰρ παντῶν τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία.* 1 Tim. vii. 10.

on the restoration of learning, and their providential connection and co-operation throughout that restoration, have been traced through the circle of human knowledge. A distinct order of proof, embracing both the certainty of this connection, and its strictly providential character, remains to be pointed out, in the similar *apparatus*, by which Mahometanism and Christianity, in their turns, effected the intellectual advancement of the world.

After the establishment of their religion, and in strict alliance with it, the earliest and most universal care of the Saracens was directed to the institution of PUBLIC SCHOOLS. The high antiquity of such establishments in their Asiatic dominions, may be learnt from the single fact, that, before the middle of the eighth century, numerous seminaries were founded and endowed, at the charge of the state, in the newly-conquered province of Spain, under Ocba Ebn Al Heyaz, its first emir.* These foundations were originally instituted for the advancement of the Mahometan religion, through the medium of the Koran; the study of which was, at first, almost the exclusive object. But the mental progress of the Saracens, once set in motion, was not to be arrested; and schools of science and philosophy every where

* Hist. des Arabes en Espagne, tom. i. p. 146.

sprang up, as by some enchantment, from these seminaries of religion. As the circle of reviving science spread, from schools arose COLLEGES, and from colleges UNIVERSITIES, over the vast circuit of the Saracen empire, in Asia, Africa, and Spain. Bagdad and Bassora, in the East; Alexandria and Cairo, in Egypt; Cairoan, Fez, and Morocco, in the region of Mauritania, — were all the seats of famous universities*, under the rule of this wonderful people: of whom it is honourably recorded, as a double praise, that they never made a conquest, without laying, at the same time, the foundations of a city†; and never erected a mosque, without adding to it a public school.‡

The facts of the case are undoubted and acknowledged: but, though much adverted to in general terms, the actual state and importance of the primitive Saracen universities, is, at the present day, probably little known. Some particulars, by way of specimen, may, therefore, not be out of place.

* “*Collegia Orientalium structa sunt, ut sunt Fundegi, vel Chani nationum Europæarum in Oriente negotiantium; — vel, ut aptiore comparatione utar, sunt, ut olim fuerunt Collegia nostra, et adhuc sunt Collegia varia OXONII et CANTABRIGIÆ. Doctores et discipuli simul in eodem ambitu cohabitant, per cellas distributi.*” Reisk. *Adnot. Historic. Abulfed. Ann. Musl. tom. iii. p. 673.*

† Oelsner, *Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* p. 78.

‡ Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. iii. p. 29, 30.*

The university of Bagdad *, in the beginning of the twelfth century, contained a body of six thousand students ; possessed endowed professorships in every branch of learning ; and reckoned in the number of its professors (as the name of Al Gazal may suffice to testify †), the most illustrious philosophers of the age. Nearly at the same period, Benjamin of Tudela, an impartial eye-witness, describes that of Alexandria, as a magnificent structure, sustained or adorned by lines of marble columns, and comprizing no fewer than twenty colleges ; then the resort of the learned, from all quarters of the world. Under the rule of the Mamelukes, Cairo still abounded with colleges, of hardly inferior extent and splendour. The scale of these structures may be learnt from Leo Africanus ‡, who describes one of them, the celebrated college of Sultan Hasan, as sufficiently strong and spacious, to be occupied as a citadel by the rebel forces, in a period of insurrection. The universities of

* For the sister foundation in the West, the university of Cordova, see Oelsner, p. 154.

† Abulfed. *Annal. Muslem.* tom. iii. pp. 374—377. Al Gazal was professor of theology in the college Al Nadhamat, so called after its founder, the illustrious Nadham-al-Molk, Vizir to Alp Arslan, and to Malec Shah. *Ibid.* pp. 206. 304. *conf.* Colleges were erected in various cities of the empire, by the munificence of this virtuous and venerable statesman. *Ibid.* p. 282. Compare *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 43.

‡ P. 104. ap. Brucker, tom. ii. p. 45.

Egypt, like those of Syria and the East, boasted of famed professors, and enjoyed ample endowments, under every successive dynasty ; until the intrusion of the barbarous Ottomans. But the Egyptian universities, according to the same author, appear to have been altogether surpassed, by the matchless magnificence of those of Mauritania. The thirty halls of the royal academy of Morocco *, its numerous professorships, its exquisitely-wrought walls and cielings, resplendent, on all sides, with lapis lazuli, and with coloured stones and crystals, its marble fountains, and twisted pillars, — seem to have filled the mind of Leo with mingled astonishment and admiration. Even these splendours were outdone, by those of the neighbouring colleges of Fez : whose numerous edifices, constructed of the purest marble, the walls rich with Mosaic-work, and the roofs with carvings, — some containing more than a hundred apartments, — with their long covered galleries, supported by octagonal columns of coloured marbles, the arches between, wrought in mosaic-work of gold and azure, — their brazen gates, and doors of carved or inlaid wood-work, their finely-sculptured oratories, and, in one instance, the very steps of the pulpit formed of

* “ Qui in hoc collegium recipiebantur, his dabatur *victus* atque *vestitus*.” Leo, ap. Brucker, tom. iii.

ivory and ebony, — these embellishments bore witness to an extent of munificence, which set cost utterly at defiance. The expenditure on a single college, that of Abu Haru, may serve as an index to the costliness of the rest: it amounted, according to the information of Leo, to four hundred and eighty thousand pieces of gold.*

Such details are by no means without importance, in the argument of the present work. Whatever were the merits or demerits of the Saracenic schools of learning, it hence unequivocally appears, that, among the Saracens, learning was the ruling passion and pursuit, and that the hearts of prince and people went together in the great work. And, even in the mechanical apparatus of literature, the extent and quality of the supply, gives a just measure for the nature and amount of the demand.

The tide of intellectual improvement, after a time, began strongly to set towards Europe. From the epoch of the elevation of Abderahman I., to the Spanish Caliphate, there was a growing influx of learned men, and of their sure accompaniment, good letters, into Spain, from the universities of Asia and Africa. Similar foundations were erected and multiplied,

* At Bagdad, the college of Al Nadhamat was founded at the expence of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars.

in the cities of the peninsula. In the Spanish schools, colleges, and universities, France, on the one hand, and Italy, on the other, had, placed before their eyes, models which the awakening energies of European intellect were not slow to imitate. The universities of Bologna, Padua, and Paris, their whole course of studies bearing the marks and traces of their Saracenic origin, first arose ; and were followed and copied after, by other continental nations. In a word, the whole educational apparatus, which, under Mahometanism, fostered and forwarded the first general revival of learning, — transferred, through the agency of Spain, to Catholic Europe, came into play under Christianity, to produce and perfect, in the West, the second restoration of the human mind. The derivation of the chief continental universities from Saracenic models, has been inferred from their entire course of studies. For the completion of the proof, it is merely necessary to subjoin, that two of the earliest and most celebrated, the universities of Padua and Paris, were founded, — the former, only towards the end of the twelfth, the latter, not before the middle of the thirteenth century ; and that, while the university of Bagdad, which existed in the eighth, numbered within its walls, in the eleventh century, six thousand students, — in the year of

our Lord 1256, the college of the Sorbonne, founded by the confessor and friend of Saint Louis, and then the sole foundation of the afterwards famous university of Paris, consisted but of a charitable endowment, for the institution and support of sixteen poor students in theology!

The modern history of PUBLIC LIBRARIES may be adduced as our concluding example, in illustration of the common apparatus, employed in the two grand revivals of learning; and of the debt unquestionably owing, on this score, by Western Christendom to the Mahometan world. Whether Amrou and his fanatical warriors be justly chargeable, or not, with the destruction of the Alexandrine library, certain it is, that, from the first dawn of Saracenic literature, both in the East and in the West, the magnificence of the Caliphs was not more zealously or boundlessly directed to any objects, than to the collection of manuscripts; the multiplication of copies, versions, and commentaries; and the formation, lastly, of public libraries. The indefatigable energy, and more than royal expenditure, devoted to this great purpose by the illustrious Al-mamon, have, from the age of the Abbassides to the present day, been the theme, the praise, and the wonder, of the learned world. The form-

ation of libraries is obviously the groundwork of the whole mechanical superstructure, for the advancement of knowledge: and at no period in the subsequent annals, no place, almost, in the wide dominions, of the Saracens, was the spring relaxed, which had been first given, in this fundamental department of letters, by Almamon.

The Mahometan princes of Spain, Barbary, and Egypt *, emulated the princely spirit of the Abbassides, both in the pains, and in the cost, bestowed in forming collections, and founding libraries †, for the benefit of their subjects, and the enlargement of the boundaries of science.

The description of the labours of Al Hakem, the second of the name, and the fifth of the Spanish Ommiades, in the collection and arrangement of the royal library at Cordova, as given in an important work, recently published in France from original authorities ‡, conveys an idea of the state of this art, among the Arabians, in the tenth century, which may well moderate the pretensions of the most scientific modern

* A. D. 1117, as Macrizi relates, Saladin found in the royal treasury at Cairo, "*Bibliothecam voluminum centum mille, elegantissime scriptorum et compactorum*;" a collection esteemed among their choicest jewels, by the Fatimite caliphs. Cf. *Hist. Patr. Alexandr.* p. 526. ap. *Rer. Arab. Collect.* p. 235. Panormi, 1790.

† "Above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom." *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 44.

‡ *Histoire de la Domination des Arabes en Espagne.*

collector. Even in the life-time of his father, the great Abderahman, Al Hakem maintained agents in Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Persia, whose sole office it was to purchase for their royal master the best books in every branch of learning. Men of letters, from all countries, frequented his palace of Mervan ; and these also he engaged, by the most liberal promises and rewards, to procure for him copies of the most rare, curious, or instructive works, within their reach or knowledge. He wrote himself to all the more distinguished authors of the age, desiring copies of their works, for which he paid with his wonted generosity. At the same time, he employed the most accomplished copyists to transcribe for him such books of price, as he could not otherwise obtain. In the arrangement and classification, of the splendid collection formed by these worthy arts, Al Hakem displayed no less taste and judgment, than he had before discovered zeal and munificence, in their acquisition. With his own hand, he catalogued and classed his library ; which was skilfully subdivided into various compartments, each several compartment containing the books which treated on some particular science. Each book-case, each shelf, was furnished with its table of contents ; and these particular tables, again, were incorporated into

one general catalogue ; which, according to Ebn Hayan, a contemporary writer, in its unfinished state, occupied forty-four volumes, of fifty pages each. In this seemly and scientific order, was disposed the royal library of Cordova ; a collection, which, in the reign of Al Hakem II., already comprized all the standard treatises on the arts and sciences ; all the then known works on eloquence or poetry ; and a rich accumulation of histories, both ancient and contemporary.*

The noble spirit of Al Hakem, pre-existed, it has been remarked, in the example of the African sultans ; it survived, to the decline and downfall of the Saracen empire itself, both in them, and in his successors, the Omniades of Spain. Even in the last ruin of their empire, sufficient relics remained, to verify the accounts given by Arabian authors, of the ancient magnitude and magnificence of the Saracen collections. The remains of the great library of Fez*, still preserved in the Escorial, and forming the most valuable portion of its oriental treasures, is

* “ *In una Fesana Bibliotheca, triginta duo millia voluminum Arabicorum asservari, Erpenius, ex testibus oculatis, et fide dignissimis, retulit. Item, apud eos reperiri, quæ apud nos desiderantur, scriptorum monumenta, Titi Livii libros omnes, Pappi Alexandrini Mathematici, Hippocratis, Galeni, et aliorum.*” Lomierus *De Bibliothecis*, p. 342.

Yet, if we credit Mr. Gibbon, “there is *no* example of a poet, an orator, or even an *historian*, being taught to speak the language of the Saracens. — The heroes of Plutarch and *Livy* were buried in oblivion.” *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 50.

a living witness to the character, in its uninjured integrity, of an African library, — as it passed, by lot or agreement, into the hands of the Spaniards, after the capture of that metropolis by the French, under Saint Louis. In placing these remains in the palace of the Escorial*, Philip II., for once, was guilty of a virtue: but the work of the destroyer had ere this been too well done: in the person of the illustrious Ximenes, the genius of Romish intolerance had impelled the loftiest spirit of his age to consign ruthlessly to the flames “the labours of the philosophers, mathematicians, and poets of Cordova; the literature of a splendid dynasty of seven hundred years.”

The fact, that Europe borrowed from the Saracens the institution of her public libraries, that Christianity owes to Mahometanism, among so many intellectual obligations, this inappreciable debt, — is, perhaps, the best-ascertained particular in the history of the revival of letters. It was on his return from the African expedition, “at the sight,” says an accomplished French writer, “of the numerous libraries which the

* “Ante aliquot annos, Nearcha quidam Massiliensis Arabicam Regis Mauritanie Bibliothecam in Hispaniam avexit; et Bibliothecæ Regis Hispanie inseruit circa Annum Christi 1610: constabat, teste Regis Mauritanie legato, septem millibus et octingentis elegantissimis voluminibus.” Lomier. *De Bibliothec.* p. 342, 343.

Arab princes had amassed, and consecrated to the public service, that Saint Louis first conceived the resolve, to form a similar establishment in France." Thus, that nothing might be wanting to the compass of our obligations, — to Mahometanism and its influences are we directly indebted for the foundation of the king's library at Paris ; and in it, for the original model of all the great public libraries of Europe. *

In comparing the twofold revival of learning in the East and West, under the fostering influences of Christianity and Mahometanism, the providential connection of the two systems seems marked, not only by the identity of the machinery, but by the sameness also of the manner in which the two great processes were originally set in motion. The Saracenic revival began, under the Abbassides, with the encouragement of letters, by extending protection and patronage to learned men, especially, in its earliest stage, to learned strangers. The caliphs of the house of Abbas drew to their court, and within their palaces, scholars from all parts of the East; especially learned Jews and Christians from Syria, in

* " Niccolo Niccoli set the first example of forming in Italy an institution so favourable to the interests of learning as a public library." *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. i. p. 55. cf. pp. 51—58. The foundation, which was *new* in Italy in the *fifteenth* century, was *general*, among the Saracens, in the *tenth* !

that age the most enlightened, if not the only enlightened, quarter of the world. These individuals were the instruments employed, both to procure Greek or Syriac manuscripts, and to translate them into the Arabic ; to give permanent effect to the views of their princely patrons, by forming the minds and manners of their successors ; and to institute and preside over those establishments, which, under their direction, rapidly arose into famous seats of learning.

The precedent thus nobly set by the Abbassides of Asia, was soon wisely followed by the Ommiades of Spain. These princes, in their turn, invited into their kingdom the philosophers newly formed, under the rival dynasty, in the schools of Asia. Learning and ability, wherever found, constituted a sure passport to the favour of the Spanish caliphs. Their possessors were diligently sought out, hospitably entertained, and generously recompensed. Thus, in the East and in the West, the first step in the restored progress of the human mind, lay in the encouragement afforded to letters, under the Arabian princes, by patronage extended to learned men.

Compare this state of things, with the early facts in the history of the restoration of learning, in the fifteenth century, in Europe. The reception given, by the eastern caliphs, to learned

Syrians and others, and again, by the Spanish caliphs, to learned refugees from Bagdad, and various quarters of the East, we find, here, remarkably and circumstantially paralleled, in the Italian states, by the generous welcome accorded, on the fall of Constantinople, to the learned Greek fugitives, by their merchant-princes.* The same patronage extended, and the same employments assigned, to these learned strangers, as in the case of men of letters in the infancy of Saracenic knowledge, led to similar effects: manuscripts were transcribed, or translated; the Greek idiom was taught; the philosophy of Greece was studied in the original, and cleared from the corruptions of its Arabic, and Arabico-latin, interpreters; its literature, in fine, was first made known and intelligible, to the European nations.

The common results are familiar to all: a general restoration of learning; and the reformation, in both cases, of religious belief.† The

* For much interesting information on this subject, it is almost superfluous to refer to works so well known, as Hody, "*De Græcis illustribus*," and Roscoe's "*Life of Lorenzo de Medici*."

† The Mahometan reformation was effected by the introduction of the Greek philosophy; which the Mussulman synod of Bosra pronounced to be indispensable, for the defence of Islamism against the arguments of the Jews and Christians. The consequence of this innovation, as we have before intimated, was a growing approximation of Mahometanism, in several important respects, to the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. See especially sect. vi.

caliphs, or Mahometan popes, were the prime movers of the first great event : and, in the family of the Medici, the popes, or Romish caliphs *, became, directly and indirectly, the providential instruments for bringing about the second.† What reflecting mind can recall the reign of Almamon, without recollecting, at the same time, that of Leo X. ? both learned ; both munificent ; both liberal and enlightened patrons of letters and learned men. The taste of the caliph, in the one instance, unwittingly produced a permanent change for the better in the character of Mahometanism ; that of the Roman pontiff, in the other, unconsciously and unwillingly, gave birth to the light and liberty of the glorious reformation.⁷

The resort of men of letters to the courts and palaces of the Oriental and Spanish caliphs, naturally led to much intercourse and mutual exchange of thoughts. This intellectual communion was early improved, by royal patrons, into the institution of regular and periodic associations. In Spain, especially, the immediate point of contact with catholic Europe, LEARNED

* As Friar Bacon and others have styled the caliph " Muhammedanorum Papa," Romanists cannot object to the application of the converse expression to the Roman pontiffs.

† As the founder of the Vatican library, a high place belongs to Pope Nicholas V., in the history of the restoration of letters. See *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. i. pp. 56—58.

SOCIETIES were established, within the tenth century, both for the advancement of philosophy, and the encouragement of polite letters. In these institutions or academies, as the Arabian writers relate, men of science, historians, poets, united their various lights and acquirements, for a common end, — the enlarging and perfecting of general knowledge. Cordova abounded in these academies; for which, that instituted by Al Hakem, in the palace of Mervan, served as the model. Similar societies, branching out from those of the capital, were formed in Seville, Toledo, and other principal cities.

The academy of science founded at Toledo, by Ahmed Ebn Said, may serve as an illustration. At the palace of this noble and learned Saracen, forty sages * of Toledo, Calatrava, and two adjoining places, met annually during the three winter months of November, December, and January. Ahmed appropriated for their meetings a spacious saloon, sumptuously fitted up, and furnished. A large stove occupied the

* The number reminds us of the limit of the French Academy. In this connection we may remark, that the Arabs were the first *Encyclopædists*. Cf. Brucker, tom. iii. p. 939. The *Encyclopædia* of Alfarabius, compiled in the tenth century, is described by Casiri as a treatise inscribed with that title, — “ubi Scientiarum Artiumque liberalium Synopsis occurrit, una cum accurata et perspicua earum notitia, definitione, divisione, methodo.” Bibl. A. Hisp. Escur. tom. i. p. 189. See *Suppl. Enc. Brit.* vol. i. p. 2.

centre of this apartment, round which the members seated themselves. The session was opened by the recital of some chapter from the Koran ; which became the text, as it were, of their further discussions * : they next proceeded to read verses, or to discuss some subject of science : the conference ended, the academicians present were served with perfumes and aromatics, and supplied with ewers containing rose-water, for their ablutions : the meeting then closed, with a moderate repast or supper.

At the stage of intellectual progress indicated by this state of things, the taste for letters had diffused itself through all classes : following their own impulse, or the example of the prince, the rich and noble rivalled one another in the protection and patronage of learning ; and the aristocracy of rank and wealth adopted into its family the aristocracy of mind. The highest offices of the state were now thrown open to the learned. And to such a degree had literature obtained mastery over the national spirit, that the academies of polite letters numbered among their ornaments several distinguished women. The names of Lobna, Fatima, Aixa, Cadiga, Mariem, Valadat

* Even at this advanced stage of their progress, we see that connection preserved between literature and religion, which characterized the infancy of knowledge among the Saracens ; and which made the school the vestibule to the mosque.

of Cordova, and REDIYA, are particularly to be noted, for the honourable mention made of their mental accomplishments and genius, in the literary annals of the Spanish Saracens.*

The patronage of letters in Italy, in the fifteenth century, was exercised in the same manner, and conducted to similar results. The first restorers of European letters constantly frequented the palace of the Medici. Cosmo nurtured the infancy of those learned associations, which his grandson Lorenzo brought to maturity, by the institution of the academy of Florence, and of the Platonic Festival, a society emanating from it, and conducted after the manner, and to the end, which characterized the philosophical and literary societies of the Saracens.† In Italy also, as in Spain, the progress of reviving knowledge was promoted by the example of eminently gifted and learned women. Several of these illustrious females, illustrious equally by their

* De Marlès, tom. i. pp. 492, 493; Oelsner, p. 155. In the East, the studies of learned females were not confined to polite letters; contrary to what might be supposed of Mahometan prejudice, they extended even to *theology*; and the names of Carima, and Shaheda, who flourished, the former in the eleventh, and the latter in the twelfth, century of our era, are placed by Abulfeda, high in the list of Mussulman theologians. Carima delivered lectures on tradition, with great applause, at Mecca; and Shaheda obtained equal celebrity by her expositions, in the presence of numerous auditories, of the doctrine of traditional theology. Cf. *Annal. Muslem.* tom. iii. p. 222. and tom. iv. p. 38.

† *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. i. pp. 223—227.

high rank and by their generous love of letters, are noticed, with praise, by the Italian historians of the period : of these, Alessandra Scala, and Cassandra Fidelis, may well bear comparison with the Saracen female worthies.

After the description above given, of the learned societies established among the Spanish Saracens, the transactions of our modern philosophical and literary societies need hardly be adduced, to show how exactly they had their precedents and prototypes, in the age of Arabian learning.

The general connection of the eastern and western revivals of learning, it is presumed, has been now sufficiently substantiated, by detailed examination of the facts. This twofold restoration took place, in portions of the globe within the pales of Mahometanism and Christianity. And both movements had their origin, strictly and exclusively, in the agency and influences of these kindred, but opposed religions. But, through the whole providential arrangement, this one feature is conspicuous, that, however the Mahometan superstition may have apparently stood alone, in some stages of the progress, the hidden energy of the glorious Gospel was still vitally operative.

We would now recall attention, to the proof of this most important fact. The reader will recol-

lect, that the Abbasside caliphs themselves received their first intellectual impulse from their Christian physicians ; that the first teachers and translators who appeared, on the royal summons, in the court of Bagdad, were Syrian Christians ; that the names of Honain, Mesuah, Mesul, and other learned Syrians, who there kindled the infant flame of science, serve but as guides to the evangelic origin of that flame ; which, as it had been primarily awakened, so it long continued to be nurtured, by the labours and learning of the Jews and Christians of the East. If then, in after times, the great European revival of science and civilization was, either directly through the Spanish Saracens, or indirectly through the crusades, indebted, in all its branches, for the first seeds of life, to the influences of Mahometanism, — it will, in making this due acknowledgment, be mindfully observed, that all the intellectual vitality of Mahometanism was itself previously borrowed from Christianity, at the period of the conquest, by the Saracens, of eastern Christendom. At this momentous crisis, the religion of Mahomet interposed, to discharge the important office of a life-preserver. It caught and cherished the decaying spark, which was on the point of perishing in the hands of the degenerate Greeks ; but which

the imitative Saracens applied, as they proceeded in their career of victory and dominion, to rekindle, in all parts, the lost or smouldering flame of science. In its eventual contribution, therefore, to the restoration of European learning, Mahometanism still appears only as the handmaid of the Gospel: it gave back simply, with increase, what it had borrowed from Christianity.

Accordingly, if we observe the character of the entire parallel submitted in this and in the preceding section, in each specific branch of improvement, the part performed by Mahometanism will appear to have been but initiatory, while that performed by Christianity, on the other hand, is perfective. The acquirements and inventions of the Saracens, in whatever departments, advanced only to a certain mediate point; and, at that point, merged in the superior illumination, which they had been themselves the means of communicating to Western Christendom. In other words, the crescent of Mahomet arose only to dispel the intervening gloom between the lights of the ancient and the modern world, as the moon rises with its faint and borrowed beams, to fill the interval, and preserve the natural world from darkness, between the setting, and the rising, sun. Hence

the signal coincidence, which has been so often noticed by Christian writers, as alike interesting and unaccountable; and which has attracted the attention even of infidel philosophy: we find the Saracen luminaries arising, precisely as those of ancient Christendom expired; and expiring, not less precisely, as those of modern Christendom arose.*

But, while the spurious faith, and its father Ishmael, thus held, invariably, a subsidiary and subordinate place to the true revelation, and its parent Isaac, — the counsel of God, as declared in the providential history of the two religions, unequivocally teaches us, that the rise and progress of the adulterated system was essential to the recovery and ultimate perfection of the pure belief. In comparison with the Christian revelation and its happy influences, Mahometanism, indeed, is as the feet to the head, or as the footstool to the throne. But, as the head cannot say to the feet, “I have no need of you,” neither can the legitimate creed, in the analogous instance, reject or deny the providential aids and advantages derived to it from the spurious.

* “The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great irruption of the Moguls; and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals: but, since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the oriental studies have languished and declined.” *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 44.

The part of Christian wisdom, here, is, to view the actual facts of the two cases; and, by a survey of the facts, not by short-sighted preconceptions, to reduce the pretensions of Mahometanism to their natural and real level. By such a survey, it will appear, on the one hand, that Mahometanism stands originally indebted to Christianity, for the sum of its beneficial influences on the world; since all its greater lights were originally drawn from the Christian Greek empire: on the other hand, that Christianity, in its turn, stands, by Divine permission, indebted to Mahometanism, for the eventual and general restoration of European civilization and science; directly, through the Saracens of Africa and Spain, and indirectly through the crusades. For the more direct influences of the holy wars themselves, on the European system, are nothing more or less than the indirect influences of Mahometanism; the crusaders unconsciously serving as importers into Italy, and other parts of Europe, of the Asiatic science and civilization of the Saracens.

In truth, the Saracenic improvements could be co-extensive only with the empire of the caliphs, until the action of the crusades diffused them to the heart of every country of Europe. The inquiring few, alone, could be reached

by the distant light; the implicit many were brought into contact with its genial warmth, by the almost universal agency of the crusades. The cause of science might be promoted, by its earlier contact with the Arabs; but civilization was first introduced into barbarized Europe, by the general collision of the holy wars.

The reasonings of this section have proceeded, throughout, with express or tacit reference, to the intimate connection of the twofold restoration of learning, with the influences of religious belief. We will close it, by a summary of the evidences which establish that connection.

With respect to *Mahometanism*, it is certain, that the institution of schools among the Saracens, was intended to provide for the instruction of the people in the text and interpretation of the Koran. The study of philosophy, again, was first taken up, and finally cultivated, strictly with a view to the defence and confirmation of the Mahometan religion. The caliphs, lastly, the temporal and spiritual heads of that religion, were, in every stage of its progress, the movers, directors, and regulators of the learning of the Saracens.

It is equally demonstrable that *Christianity* was the true source of the intellectual restoration of Europe. The schools of the Saracen empire

were not more immediately connected with the mosques, than were those of western Christendom, in the middle ages, with the monasteries and convents. Again, the study of theology as a science, with reference to the vindication and advancement of religion, was the primary object of the Catholic, as well as of the Saracenic application, to the Greek philosophy and the writings of Aristotle. The caliphs, the spiritual heads of the Mahometan superstition, in fine, did not more certainly originate, animate, and control, the one great mental movement, than did the Popes, the spiritual heads of the Latin or western church, the other.

The history of the period contains ample and acknowledged proof, that the restoration of European learning, after the eclipse of the middle ages, is justly ascribed to the intellectual operation of Christianity. It is not enough, however, that we admit this important fact : it is essential, further, that we consider attentively its nature and bearings. For, until we shall have analysed the matter of fact itself, we can be very imperfectly qualified to appreciate the office which Christianity has discharged, and the place which it holds, as the intellectual enlightener of mankind.

In the first five centuries of our era, the learn-

ing which existed in the Christian church was a borrowed light, adopted wholly from the heathen literature of the Greeks and Romans. In every branch of human science, up to this period, the church of Christ stood indebted to Paganism. The peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, contained in Scripture, illustrated by tradition and the writings of the fathers, and these only, were her own. But Christianity could derive no distinction, none suitable to its origin and end, from the mere cultivation, however successful, of a borrowed literature ; far less, of a literature borrowed from such an inferior source. Nor, on the other hand, was the Greek and Roman learning itself capable of supplying the materials for the vast intellectual superstructure, which, after a dark interval of centuries, the nations of modern Europe eventually erected in western Christendom.

The merits and defects of the Greek philosophy are equally well known. Those writers, among the moderns, who have shown themselves most capable of appreciating its high excellencies, have most truly and ably exposed the inherent imperfection, of the best learning of the ancients : its unsubstantial depths, and visionary abstractions ; its want, where most exact, of experimental exactness ; its utter failure, from ignorance

of the Author of nature, to grapple with the wonders and mysteries of his works. From these, and similar causes, the best ages of Greek and Roman learning were, after all, but the childhood of knowledge: and the permanence of those ages would have been only a perpetual childhood; for, at the root, there was absolutely no provision for full growth, and emancipation into man's estate. The apostle, therefore, spake in the true spirit of philosophy, when he pronounced the wisdom of the Greeks foolishness.

But such as it was, so far was this wisdom from maintaining itself at its height, when Christianity first imbibed it, that, on the contrary, we know as a certain and undisputed fact, that it was already irretrievably on the decline. And, in the western empire, its spirit had altogether fled, long before its formal downfall was effected by the irruption of the barbarians.

The influx of the northern tribes gave birth to a revolution, not only in the modes of thinking, but in the source of thought: it provided the raw materials for a new manufacture of the human mind: the very recollections of the past were now, for ages, swept away. Meanwhile, a leaven, not of man's preparing, was silently hidden in the lifeless mass. The convulsive throes of the dark ages made secretly ready the birth of a new

intellectual day. The lights of heathen antiquity, with the returning dawn of European intelligence, were safely and healthfully, because sparingly restored, by a people, strangers, at all former times, to the Greek and Roman learning, and of a genius totally foreign from the genius of the ancients. What was contributed to Europe, through the Arabs, was just enough to stimulate without overlaying. They imparted to the Gothic and German nations of the West, together with a portion of the Greek science and philosophy, an impulse and infusion perfectly original, and properly their own. It was after this whole preparatory process, through every intermediate stage of its operation, had wrought to the end, and not till then, that the intellectual energy of Christianity fully manifested itself in the world.

In working up the recent and rich materials furnished by the North, Paganism and Mahometanism alike served, not as principals, but as hand-maidens. The primitive character of the Gothic and German genius, profound and powerful, and possessing, in undiminished vigour, the elastic buoyancy of youth, needed only to be touched by a congenial spark, to break forth into original intellectual greatness. Christianity, which, by the admission of its most inveterate

opponents *, had first moulded the genius of the north into form by its moral influences, now supplied this spark ; and so gave birth to the mental constitution of modern Europe. The Arabs may have furnished the elements of our experimental philosophy ; the Greeks and Romans, of our proficiency in classical taste, and in moral and metaphysical science ; but the great fabric of European intellect rests upon foundations far wider and deeper than these ; — and its foundations were laid in the intellectual influences of Christianity.

In closing our view of the parallel comprized in the present section, this, then, is the final matter-of-fact result. Christianity maintains, throughout, her unrivalled supremacy, as the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, in this great chapter of providential history. Mahometanism merely falls in to fill up a chasm ; to discharge an indispensable, indeed, but strictly dependent and auxiliary function, as a middle term, and connecting link, between the seemingly disparted influences of the one true revelation.

But, although in every sense subsidiary, the office discharged by the religion of Mahomet

* For the testimony borne by Mr. Gibbon, see section xii. *ad init.*
Compare Decline and Fall, c. lv. *ad fin.*

is not the less important. It preserved the lights of the ancient world, through the long eclipse of the middle ages : it enlarged those lights, in the paths most directly leading to the advancement of the human mind : it imparted them gradually to Europe, in proportion as Europe became capable of receiving them : and thus opened, without overpowering, the mental vision of the nations of the West. When the proper time was come, when the western nations were at length fitted for the trust, Mahometanism wholly surrendered its temporary charge ; Christianity, invigorated by the pause of centuries, resumed, with a vast increase of power, her proper office ; and the scattered rays of knowledge, which had been preserved from extinction by the spurious faith, were concentrated by the happy influences of the true religion, and brought to bear, with united force, upon the awakened mind of Europe.

These were great and peculiar services of Mahometanism ; services clearly and eminently providential. And from experience of the benefits conferred on Christendom through this arch-heresy, in past ages, we seem authorized to anticipate further, and, not improbably, superior benefits, in ages yet to come. Since the religion of Mahomet appears at least equally fitted to

prepare the way, at a period still future, for the more universal diffusion of Christian lights, and Christian civilization.

Thus, in its mental character and effects, the providential office of the Koran, however subordinate, seems to have been essential for the accomplishment of the ends to be attained, by the divine dispensation of the Gospel. The two systems, emanating from the one patriarchal source, appear continually to converge towards one great consummation, — the glorious fulfilment of the twofold covenant of God with Abraham, in its social and intellectual aspect, by the eventual re-union of his sons Isaac and Ishmael, as joint civilizers of the world.

CONCLUSION.

IT is not designed, in these concluding remarks, to offer any thing in the way of formal recapitulation. The object and argument of the present work are, it may without presumption be assumed, sufficiently familiar to those readers, who shall have accompanied the author to this term of his labours. It may be mutually satisfactory, however, before he takes leave, to direct attention to the nature and amount of the proofs, submitted in the foregoing pages.

It will be observed, then, that the evidences which have been advanced, are, from first to last, strictly and properly *cumulative evidences*: that they are at once independent and corroborative of each other; and that, while they combine together most advantageously as a whole, they, in fact, constitute a series of separate proofs.

On a retrospect of the general argument in this point of view, its nature and amount will stand pretty nearly thus: —

In the first section, the fundamental principle of a providential connection, between the Mahometan arch-heresy, and the Jewish and Christian revelations, is supported by ample proof, drawn from Scripture, of the establishment of two distinct, but parallel, covenants, on the part of God, with Abraham, in favour of his sons, Isaac and Ishmael.

But the analogy, which has been there shown to subsist between the terms of these covenants, pre-supposes the existence of a certain relation and correspondence in their respective fulfilments; in other words, between the religious systems which eventually emanated from them.

The presumption which thus arose, antecedently, from the scriptural evidences given in the first section, is progressively confirmed, through the twelve succeeding sections; which, it is hoped, establish the following series of matter-of-fact analogies, between Judaism and Christianity, on the one hand, and Mahometanism, on the other.

1. The true revelation, and the spurious revelation, agree, in being alike subjects of prophecy, both in the Old Testament, and in the New: a distinction, be it observed, belonging to no other religious system. 2. They correspond historically, to an extraordinary extent, in

resemblances between the founders, which strongly indicate their relation, as Christ and antichrist; and in resemblances between the religions themselves, in their entire rise and progress, which amply corroborate that relation. 3. In their respective moral schemes, they coincide, in the degree suited to the real pretensions of Mahometanism, as the spurious counterpart of the law and gospel; its moral code being clearly plagiarized, in the lower features, from carnal Judaism, and in the higher, from the divine morality of Christianity. And the kind and degree of relationship which obtains in morals, extends itself, 4. to the doctrines of the opposed religions, and 5. to their rites. 6. They concur in the possession of written laws, preserved in books alike called sacred, and purporting to be inspired; bearing the same titles, and presenting, to a large extent, similar contents,—the Koran being, in point of fact, a spurious parody of the Bible. 7. The parallel manifested between the three creeds, under each and all of the preceding heads of comparison, is further maintained in the history of their several sects and heresies. 8. The papal and Mahometan Apostasies possess a common character, as the Eastern and Western heads of that antichrist, prophesied of in Scripture; and, while

they exactly coincide in order of time, they so correspond in their general effects, as to be, in their whole antichristian properties, nothing more, nor less, than two different perversions of the one true religion. 9. The kindred quality of these apostasies, discernible in ten thousand examples, is demonstrated by one, — the common prophetic harvest of blood and desolation, sown in the corruptions of the Eastern and Western churches, and reaped, and gathered in, through twelve centuries, by the rival sacred wars of Popery and Mahometanism. 10. In the last place, under the almighty and all-merciful control of Him, who of old established his covenants with Abraham, and who keepeth covenant to the days of a thousand generations, Christianity and Mahometanism have been seen, hand joined in hand, co-operating in the general restoration and advancement of industry, commerce, and civilization, of arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature, in every quarter of the habitable globe.

But if the fundamental principle of this argument be just, — if its derivation from the lesser covenant of Ishmael furnishes the true solution of the success of Mahometanism, — it is plainly impossible, that this manifold relationship, subsisting between the true and the spurious

revelation, can terminate here. In such a view of the subject, the joint agency and influences of the two great religious systems, in every prior stage, can be regarded only as intermediate; and as leading up to a final spiritual consummation. It becomes, therefore, of the highest importance, to investigate and ascertain the real character of the position hitherto occupied by the Mahometan superstition, in its capacity as a middle term, between truth and error, between Christianity and paganism, in all its various and revolting forms.

The objection has been frequently raised by infidel writers, and the admission has been fairly made by some of the ablest advocates of the gospel, that a high state of national culture and civilization would seem essential, in order to Christianity striking root, and becoming *permanently* established among any people.¹ It may be remarked, in confirmation of this opinion, that the limits of permanent Christianity have, in fact, been hitherto nearly commensurate with the boundaries of Greek and Roman civilization. It is very true, that, in the apostolic age, and at its primitive announcement, the blessed and glorious gospel had penetrated into the savage climates, and among the barbarian nations, of the ancient world. The early triumphs of

Christianity in these quarters are, however, sufficiently accounted for by the consideration, that its first preachers carried with them the sensible and visible sanction of miracles ; of supernatural gifts and powers, — perhaps the only kind of appeal, at once perfectly adapted to the capacity, and peculiarly in unison with the religious instinct, of uncivilized man.

This last inference by no means rests on merely theoretical grounds ; it seems fully elucidated and confirmed, by the direct practical result. For, however successful in the first instance, certain it is, that the apostolical preaching left after it no lasting national impression among the Scythians, or other barbarians of the North ; where any descendants of the primitive converts, who had not previously relapsed into heathenism, would appear to have subsided into heresy, before the general irruption of the barbarians.

Nor is the difficulty in question at all diminished, by the familiar fact, that the pagan invaders of the Christian Roman empire universally melted into the religion of the conquered South and West. For, if, in their new settlements, they not only embraced, but retained, the profession of the gospel, it will be recollected, that they did so under the permanent influence of peculiar and controlling circumstances ; that,

with their native seats, they had changed their national character and habits, and had become blended into one people with their civilized Roman subjects.

On the other hand, the historical fact is alike melancholy and notorious, that the final reduction of the north to the confession of Christianity, and to the yoke of Rome, was effected, not by the powers of persuasion, but by force of arms², and by the martial apostleship of the Teutonic crusaders.

And, on the whole, the national conversion of the northern tribes, far from weakening, materially strengthens the conclusion, that the state of barbarism is a state essentially adverse to the propagation of the gospel; at least, to its propagation by ordinary means.

Accordingly we find, that, in the East, neither Tartary, nor Arabia, at any period of church history, admitted Christianity, as the national religion. The seed sown in the Arabian peninsula, by Saint Paul himself, too quickly withered, or became choked by the tares of heresy. In-somuch, that, among the barbarians, whether Scythians or Saracens, even the ministry of the great apostle of the gentiles appears, so far as we can now discern, to have had the same unprofitable issue³: an issue for which there seems

no other assignable cause, than the unsuitableness of the gospel scheme, in its immediate application, to the condition and capabilities of those uncivilized nations.

With the fact of a difficulty, which arose from the intrinsic excellence of our divine religion, but which operated practically to obstruct the diffusion of Christianity among the barbarians, let us now compare the action of Mahometanism upon the whole barbarian population of Asia. Not to dwell on its primitive success, in the national proselytism of the Bedoweens, we know as matter of history, that the creed of Mahomet was early, greedily, and almost universally embraced, by the two great barbarous families of Asia, the Turks and Tartars ; that it has since been cherished and propagated by both people, with unabated zeal ; and that, in its present decadency, the empire and faith of the crescent find their last and best support, in the inflexible enthusiasm of the Ottomans, the untutored descendants of the pagan barbarians of the north of Asia. What has been said, respecting the influences of Mahometanism upon the Turkish and Tartar tribes, may be extended, with equal truth, to a still more unpromising class of proselytes, to the negro population of central Africa.⁴ Results which, altogether, strongly betoken an

inherent aptitude in this marvellous superstition, for the recovery of the *barbarous* heathen nations from idolatry ; and which, in so far at least, would seem to prepare the way for the eventual and universal dissemination of the Gospel.

This view of the subject apparently presents an occasion, and a sphere, for the operation of Mahometanism, perfectly harmonizing with the place assigned to it in these pages, as the accomplishment of the promise to Abraham respecting Ishmael ; and every way consistent, also, with the honour of God, and with the analogy of the divine proceedings. For, viewed in this light, the spurious creed of the Koran appears to have been made instrumental, not only to bring heathen nations, generally, nearer to the only true revelation, but to bring nearer to Christianity a portion of the heathen world, which, without the intervention of some such middle term, perhaps could not, consistently with the essential nature of the Gospel, have been brought permanently near at all.

In this compensatory aspect of Mahometanism, attention has been wisely invited, by the learned and pious Golius, to the vast instrumentality already provided, throughout Asia and Africa, by the agency of this arch-heresy, in the almost universal prevalence of the Arabic idiom ; which,

like the Greek and Latin idioms in the West, seems providentially designed to repair the primeval evil of the confusion of tongues, and to make ready the way for the final triumph of the everlasting Gospel, by opening, through the medium of a common language, one wide channel of communication with the inhabitants of both continents. "Almighty God," observes that illustrious Orientalist, "hath so ordered events, that the tongue, which his high providence has made the common idiom of so many nations beyond the limits of the Christian world, and of the learned in almost every part, should discharge the mutual office, of an interpreter, and of an instrument of spiritual commerce: by which, on the one hand, those nations may impart to Christendom whatever mental or moral treasures they possess; while Christendom, on the other hand, shall pour back into their bosom the salutiferous light and energy of the Gospel, that so He alone may reign, and may rule over all, who is the light of the world, and the Lord of all things, Jesus Christ."⁵

And thus, out of the most deadly and devastating apostasy with which the justice of Heaven ever visited the sins of men, does the mercy of God seem, all along, to have been secretly, but effectually, preparing the instrumental means

for the glorious re-edification of our Eastern Sion, by the final bringing in of Jew, Mahometan, and Gentile, to the church and kingdom of the Gospel.⁶

In the past progress of events towards this great consummation, Mahometanism, in its allowed character as a Christian heresy,⁷ has long discharged the servile, indeed, but useful and necessary functions of a pioneer. In this capacity, amidst countless falsehoods and follies, it has already diffused, in a form however debased, the belief in one God, the doctrine of a resurrection, and the expectation of a judgment to come, with many other adumbrations of the Christian faith, over regions on which the light of Christianity had never shone: while the gross and corporeal representations of the Koran would seem to have conveyed these fundamental truths, in a clothing, at once attractive to the tastes, and level to the apprehension, of man in the savage state.⁸

What may be the prospective uses of the Mahometan apostasy, it is not for human foresight fully to conjecture. But the fact is most remarkable, that, notwithstanding its approach, in so many features, to Christianity, and its special toleration of Christians, Islamism has hitherto surpassed all forms of paganism itself, in the

bigoted resistance opposed to the propagation of the Gospel. The anomaly, however, startling as it may seem, only adds fresh confirmation to our view of the providential character and purpose of this inflexible superstition; since, in this last respect, *Mahometanism* and *Judaism* occupy common ground. They are identified with each other, in the perverseness of their renitency against the evidences and influences of Christianity; they bear numberless corresponding marks of a similar judicial blindness; and they mutually maintain that relative posture with reference to the church of Christ, which might be expected to obtain between two creeds, emanating, the one by divine appointment, the other by providential permission, from Isaac and Ishmael.⁹ And, as these two systems would seem to have had, in a certain sense, a common origin, may it not be allowable to conjecture, that they will one day have, to a certain extent, a common end? that, in the same degree in which the out-standing of the Mahometan world resembles that of the Jews, will its final coming in be also the simultaneous result, not of ordinary means, but of extraordinary providential interposition?¹⁰

But, with reference to the eventual conversion of the Mahometan nations, whatever may be doubtful regarding the mode, this much is cer-

tain respecting the time, of that conversion, that this time *must* come, and *may* be at hand. According to various independent, and seemingly unexceptionable, authorities, its gradual approach is even now discernible ; in some quarters, in a growing neglect of rites, and relaxation of discipline¹¹ ; in others, in the existence of a general persuasion, that Mahometanism is fated to be finally swallowed up by Christianity, and that its predestined term draws near.¹²

The way once opened for the conversion of the Mahometan world, it has been strongly affirmed, and there seems solid reason to believe, that the work of conversion will proceed, with uninterrupted course, and with unexampled rapidity.¹³ While, whatever may be the rate of progress, it will, from the training peculiar to Mussulmans, be attended with this advantage, that, in each new proselyte, Christianity may reckon on an additional propagator of the Gospel.¹⁴ The effects of this instrumentality, in countries where Mahometans are largely mingled with a heathen population, and especially in quarters hitherto impervious to European enterprize, and to Christian zeal¹⁵, are beyond all ordinary calculation ; but, humanly speaking, such an instrumentality would seem fitted to realize, on a scale fully commensurate with the promises and prophecies

of Scripture, the fulness or final coming in of the Gentiles.

To indulge, however, in the contemplation of these bright but distant prospects, can be profitable in our day, only so far as it may serve to remind, and incite us to the diligent but sober performance, of a present duty. Our great present duty, under the divine direction and disposal, unquestionably is, in all sobriety and wisdom, to consult for the future enlargement of Christianity, by considering the ways, and devising the means, most likely to promote its eventual propagation.

As the great providential conductor, between the only true revelation, and every false religion, Mahometanism will naturally present an early field for the exercise of this labour of love. But success in this great field (always referring the final issue to Him, whose alone it is to give the increase) will not depend merely on the zeal and fidelity of the labourers, however exemplary and unwearied, but must bear proportion, also, to the judgment, the skill, the experience, and, above all, the just views and sound discretion, which they shall carry with them to the prosecution of their office.

It has been a leading object, throughout these imperfect pages, to show, that a mistaken esti-

mate has hitherto been formed by Christian writers, and that erroneous notions have been almost universally prevalent, respecting the character, the success, and even the actual history, of Islamism. If the existence of mistake, and of consequent mistatement, has been established in any one of these respects, no time, assuredly, should be lost in reforming our premises, and revising our conclusions: for errors in detail may admit of detailed correction; but an error in first principles involves inevitable false consequences, in every stage of our subsequent progress.

In the Introduction to the present work, the injurious consequences of a mistaken estimate of the Mahometan superstition, both in favouring the attempts of infidelity, and in weakening the arguments of Christian advocates, have, it is hoped, been sufficiently indicated. In the conclusion, it may be at least equally advisable, to consider the subject in another light; namely, with reference to the effects which a wrong appreciation of their religious system may have had heretofore, and may continue to have, on Mahometans themselves.

In this view, it becomes a question for the most serious consideration of every friend of Catholic Christianity, on what reasonable ground we can

hopefully look forward to a general conversion of the Mahometan nations, so long as the system shall be suffered to prevail, of attempting to combat the real errors of their creed, by putting forth views the most erroneous, of what Mahometanism is, and of what Mahometanism has done. Let us take for an example of the evil deprecated, the history of its social and mental influences on mankind. With this history, the Mahometans of the East in particular, the most civilized and enlightened portion of the Mussulman community, are still familiarly conversant. To them, the great services once rendered to the world by Mahometanism, in those arts which improve the social happiness of man, and those studies which exalt his intellectual existence, are thoroughly known. Their eyes instinctively averted from the fallen condition of their faith, the eastern Mahometans may be truly said, to live upon the past; and to relieve the painful consciousness of their political decline, only by more fondly cherishing the proud recollections of their ancient glories.

If these men are to be taught by Christian missionaries, what we have been so often told by Christian writers, that “throughout every country where Mahometanism is professed, the same deep pause is made in philosophy;” that, “in

the East, under the influence of Mahometan belief, the natural progress of mankind, whether in government, in manners, or in science, has been retarded ;” and that over the various nations of the Mahometan world, “ some universal, but baleful influence seems to have operated, so as to counteract every diversity of national character, and restrain every principle of national exertion :” if such shall be the arguments employed with them against the faith of the Koran, either they must have lost all their characteristic intelligence and penetration, and have ceased to think, and feel, and reason, as men of a like nature, and like passions with ourselves — or we may, with moral certainty, predict the result. From what they *know* to be wrong in the teaching of their Christian instructors, they will naturally argue that what they *know not*, is wrong also : from our false estimate of Mahometanism, in its civil and intellectual influences, they may, without further examination, infer the falseness of our estimate of its spiritual claims and pretensions : and, in this way, every door may be barred against the admission of conviction, before the saving truths of the Gospel shall have so much as sounded in their ears.

Let an opposite course be pursued ; and, on the unchangeable principles of our common

nature, we may, under the Divine guidance and blessing, confidently reckon upon opposite consequences. From what they see to be just, and fair, and true, in our representations of the history, and providential services, of Islamism, they will at least be satisfied of our impartiality, and our integrity ; two main essentials for procuring the confidence of our reasonable fellow-creatures. And while their confidence shall be gained, their prejudices may be soothed, and their pride disarmed, by finding the ministers of the Gospel far more competent, and quite as willing, as themselves, to do every justice to the secular and temporal benefits imparted both to East and West, through the instrumentality of the Koran. A piece of justice, moreover, which may bring its own reward ; since it is only by fairly acknowledging what they have, that we can hope to make them sensible of what they have not.

But from this moral vantage-ground advances may soon be made, which hitherto had been essayed in vain : for it seems generally conceded, that the pride and the prejudices of Mahometans, at present constitute by far the most formidable obstacles to their entertainment of any arguments or evidences, involving change in their religious belief.

By thus approaching the understanding through

the avenue of the heart, truths may be rendered acceptable, which otherwise would not be borne. The whole spurious character of Mahometanism — its low morality, its slavish rites, and sanguinary spirit — may, by a gradual exposure, be made effectually instrumental in loosing its captives from their chains; and leading them to seek refuge from the bondage of a bloody and enslaving superstition, in the blessed liberty and rest of the Gospel of peace.

That, in his own good time, and his own unerring way, Almighty God may hasten the coming of this consummation, will be the prayer of all true members of the Church of Christ. But to the inhabitants of this highly-favoured land, the establishment of our pure and apostolic church in India, gives, if possible, a nearer and dearer interest in the future conversion of the Mahometan world. Let us only recollect, that we must begin wisely, if we would proceed well; that a good foundation is the first advance to a great superstructure; and that to become all things to all men, if by any means we may save some, is the lesson bequeathed by the example of the great master-builder of the gentiles, for our instruction in the task of edifying the Church of Christ.

And if, by the removal of a single erroneous impression, or the contribution of a single useful

suggestion, the author may be found to have cast a mite into the treasury of God's temple, he will feel richly indemnified for the conscientious prosecution of an inquiry, which, however imperfect in the conception, and unequal in the execution, is the result of the thoughts and studies of nine years.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX. No. I.

INQUIRY INTO THE DESCENT OF THE ARABS FROM
ISHMAEL.

THE view taken of Mahometanism in the foregoing pages, rests altogether on one Scriptural ground-work; on the Abrahamic origin of the Arabian family. In conducting the general argument, this fundamental point was taken for granted. But, as the derivation of the Arab tribes from Ishmael is a fact which sceptical writers have thought proper to bring seriously into question*, some inquiry into the

* It has been brought into question even by some Christian scholars: I am sorry to class the learned Brucker among the authorities, who, without pretending to offer reasons for their scepticism, have presumed to arraign the *Scriptural* genealogy of the Arabs. The national descent from Ishmael, this elaborate critic numbers with those pretensions, which, “*propius considerata, et ad lapidem Lydium critices artis, atque historiæ veteris examinata, fundamento destituuntur!*” Those readers, however, must be of easy faith, who will accept in evidence such *gratis dicta* as the following: “*Omnem quam Arabes recentiores jactant, originem ab Abrahamo, incertissimam esse, et ab his hominibus circa tempora nascentis et adolescentis Mahummedismi excogitatem, ut more Muhammedanorum, Judæorum, et Christianorum, Abrahamum fidei suæ parentem jactantium, non minori antiquitate suas nugas et errores esse homines crederent.*” Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. i. p. 214, 215. edit. Lips. 1742. In the following dissertation, the author hopes not merely to affirm, but to prove, that the scepticism of the German critic, and that of the English historian, alike “*fundamento destituuntur.*”

affected grounds of doubt, and real merits of the point at issue, becomes unavoidable.

The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire professes to have considered this interesting question; and assails, with his usual dexterity of insinuation, the united authority of scripture-history, and Arabian tradition, respecting "the pedigree of the Arabs."* To his statement of the case I shall, therefore, more particularly apply myself.

Mr. Gibbon's doubts, touching the Ishmaelitic origin of the Arabians, are stated, indeed, with an air of assumed indifference, and with a studied levity of expression; but the assiduity of his efforts to depress the proof of that origin, discloses his sense of the importance of this circumstance of the Mosaic narrative, in the evidences of revealed religion. In one place, doubt is barely suggested by an insidious hint,— "*whatever* may be the pedigree of the Arabs;" in another, the historian's scepticism assumes a more defined form,— "a critic," the reader is apprized, "might dispute the *foundation* of the pedigree;" in a third, Mr. Gibbon openly sneers at the Ishmaelitic descent, as "a national privilege or *fable*." These perfectly gratuitous allegations, it will be remembered, are made in the face of ancient records, to whose historical authority this artful writer, on other occasions, repeatedly pays a convenient deference.

While the books of Moses are thus silently rejected as evidence for the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, Mr. Gibbon presently affects to consider the Mosaic records as the sole depositaries of the fact or fiction. According to his representation, the Arabs themselves remained wholly unconscious of their Abrahamic origin, until the century immediately preceding the Christian era; when the story of it began to be made known to them, for the first time. From that period, it seems, a succession of

* Decline and Fall, chap. i.

Jewish exiles, and of Christian missionaries, diffused over the peninsula copies of the Hebrew Scriptures; and disseminated, with those Scriptures, the notion of an Ishmaelitish parentage among its barbarous tribes: "The Jews and Christians were the people of *the Book*; the Bible was already translated into the Arabic language; and the volume of the Old Testament was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to *discover* the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth and promise of Ishmael; revered the faith and virtue of Abraham; traced his pedigree and their own to the creation of the first man; and imbibed, with equal credulity, the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish Rabbis." *

In this studied attempt to throw doubt on the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, I would simply draw attention to the fact, that the twofold evidence of Scripture history, and Arabian tradition, in support of that descent, has been set aside, without examination into the authority of either. It shall be my object, in this dissertation, to supply the omission; and to establish the authority of both testimonies, as historical evidence on the point in question: for it may well suffice, against all mere sceptical objections to this genealogy, if we are able to show, 1. that the volume of the Old Testament, regarded simply as an ordinary historical document, contains satisfactory proof of the alleged national descent; and, 2. that the ante-Mahometan Arabians, in every age of their history, appear to have preserved the tradition of their Abrahamic origin unbroken. †

1. Upon inquiry into the state of the scriptural evidences bearing on this question, an important consideration demands attention at the outset; namely, that the evidence of Scripture cannot here be regarded as a single testimony, but re-

* Decline and Fall, ch. 1.

† "Nisi aliud obstet, unicuique genti natales suos referenti credi par est." Bochart. Phaleg.

solves itself into two perfectly distinct and independent branches. In the volume of the Old Testament, we have, in the first place, the Mosaic account of Ishmael and his descendants, contained in the book of Genesis; and, secondly, sundry corroborations of that account, running through a series of records, each possessing its distinct authority, and extending nearly from the time of Moses, to the era of the Babylonish captivity. The testimony of the primitive Mosaic record, to the origin of the Arabian family, is direct and specific; that borne by the subsequent books of Scripture, is generally indirect and incidental. This actual state of the case, so far as respects the scriptural evidences, needs only to be pointed out; the reader will, at once, perceive and appreciate its bearings and value.

With all who receive the Hebrew Scriptures as historical authorities, the derivation of the Arab tribes from Ishmael is so fully authenticated by the narrative of the book of Genesis, that nothing can seem wanting to the completeness of the proof. We find there recorded, the parentage, birth, and settlement of Ishmael in Arabia; together with reiterated promises and prophecies in his behalf, that he should become a great nation; and delineations exact, and to the life, of the character and habits of his descendants. We have also the births, names, and settlement, of the patriarchs, his sons, as princes or emirs, in the same country; with incipient fulfilments of the specific prediction concerning these brethren*, in the mention of them, at this early period, by their towns, their castles, and their nations†; that is to say, not merely as the fathers of families, but as already the founders of potent tribes.

Nor does the authority of the narrative depend solely on the statements of the narrator. Moses here treats, indeed, of events occurring centuries before his time; but it will be observed that, in so doing, he presents past events to his contemporaries, as verified in their existing consequences.

* Gen. xvii. 20.

† Gen. xxv. 16.

His statements respecting Ishmael, for example, and the promises of God concerning him and his posterity, purport to have been made to a people, who had before their eyes flourishing and powerful tribes, descended from this patriarch, and severally distinguished by the names of his twelve sons, their progenitors. In the case of the Israelites, therefore, history was confronted, by their inspired lawgiver, with known and sensible facts; and the experience of the present, continually brought forward to confirm and elucidate his relations of the past. It follows, that to all who will consent to admit the Mosaic records in the light of historical vouchers, the direct testimony which they contain of the descent of the Arabians from Ishmael comes confirmed in the completest and most satisfactory way.

But, when we propose to verify from Scripture the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabs, the narrative of Genesis forms only one branch of the proof. Its *direct* testimony to the fact, is independently corroborated, by scriptural evidence of quite a separate kind: I mean, by the *incidental* notices and allusions which occur in other books of the Old Testament; and which coincide unanimously, without the possibility of design in the coincidences, in representing Ishmael as the known and allowed progenitor of the Arab race.

Even minds sufficiently disposed to withhold assent, in any case, from the more direct testimony of sacred history, may find it, on experiment, a less easy task to rid themselves of its proofs, when coming thus in an indirect and incidental way. In this unimpeachable form, the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael is again and again represented as a fact of universal notoriety, in various books of the Old Testament: books written, at distant intervals of time and place, under diverse circumstances, and with wholly different objects. In this way, through the long course of the Jewish history, we meet repeated references to existing tribes of Arabia, descending from Ishmael, and bearing the names of his several sons; references certainly not made with any prospective controversial view, but arising incidentally out

of the contact of the Arabs with the Jews, in the ordinary dealings of commercial intercourse, or the extraordinary vicissitudes of peace and war.

Thus the prophet Isaiah, when he speaks generally of the coming in of the Gentiles, makes mention of "the rams of *Nebaioth*," the eldest, and "all the flocks of *Kedar* *," the second of the sons of Ishmael; of the Arab tribes, that is, deriving from these brothers: in another part of his prophecy, he notices "the *cities* of the wilderness, the villages that *Kedar* doth inhabit †:" and again, when, denouncing impending calamity on the land of Arabia, he foretells how "all the glory of *Kedar* shall fail ‡," he employs the name of this single tribe, as synonymous with that of the entire peninsula. Jeremiah, where he predicts a similar national visitation, introduces *Kedar*, in like prominent terms, as a great and powerful people: this prophet graphically depicts these true sons of Ishmael, as "the wealthy nation that dwelleth without care, which have neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone." || Ezekiel also prophesies conjointly of "Arabia, and all the princes of *Kedar*." § In earlier times of Jewish history, David and Solomon allude to "the tents of *Kedar* ¶," as objects but too familiar and formidable to the eyes of their subjects. Mention of the tribes of *Dumah* and *Tema*, the sixth and ninth sons of Ishmael, is made by Isaiah, in connection with that of *Kedar*: the prophet speaks of "the burden of *Dumah*," and "the inhabitants of the land of *Tema*." ** An allusion to *Tema*, as a warlike people of Arabia, occurs so early as in the book of Job: "The Troops of *Tema* looked, the companies of

* Is. lx. 7.

† xlii. 11. The description corresponds with the site of Mecca, supposed to be the *Mesha* of Scripture. Cf. Gen. x. 30.

‡ xxi. 16, 17.

|| Jer. xlix. 28—31.

§ Ezek. xxvii. 21. It appears incidentally that the *Kedarites* were pastoral *Bedoweens*; since they are introduced by the prophet as supplying the *Tyrians* with "lambs, and rams, and goats." Now the *Bedoweens* are reckoned to this day, among the Arabs, to be the purest of the stock of Ishmael.

¶ Ps. cxx. 5.

** Is. xxi. 11. 14.

Sheba waited for them.”* This Ishmaelitish tribe is also noticed by the prophet Jeremiah. † Lastly, the tribes sprung from *Jetur* and *Naphish*, the tenth and eleventh sons of Ishmael, are commemorated in the first book of Chronicles; and the intimation there given of the strength of these comparatively unnoticed hordes, may qualify us to form a juster notion, than otherwise we could be prepared to entertain, of the aggregate population, at that period, of Ishmaelitish Arabia. When the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites leagued together in an expedition against these *Hagarites* ‡ (as the sacred history styles them), after a great slaughter in the field of battle, the male captives alone amounted, it appears, to a hundred thousand men. §

The descent of the chief tribes of Arabia from Ishmael is thus sustained and substantiated, by a double chain of scriptural proofs. The *direct* testimony, with great historical exactness, sets forth in detail the whole circumstances of the national pedigree; and supports itself, in its statements, by constant reference to contemporary fact and experience. The *indirect*, corroborates the direct testimony of scripture, at every point, by a series of incidental notices and allusions; relating to times present to the several writers, and to passing occurrences; and testifying the existence, throughout the successive ages of the Jewish polity, of warlike tribes, and powerful nations, of the race of Ishmael, within the Arabian peninsula: facts, leaving not a possibility of any of the writers being themselves deceived, nor a conceivable motive for their attempting to practise deception on others.

Or suppose them, as the consistent sceptic must suppose them, consentient, one and all, in the transmission of a falsehood equally unmeaning and profitless; and see how, on this supposition, the case will stand. On this monstrous supposition, the authors of the Old Testament, one and all, must be understood to speak, to their several contemporaries, of *non-existing* nations, tribes, and armies, as living, moving,

* Job vi. 19. † Jer. xxv. 23. ‡ Compare App. i. p. 400. ad fin. *note*.

§ 1 Chron. v. 10. and 19—21.

and acting, under their familiar observation ! Even the poetry of the Hebrews draws its images and illustrations from “ the tents of Kedar ; ” yet are these tents and their inhabitants a fable or a dream ! The force of sceptical credulity itself will hardly accept this hypothesis ; yet is this incredible theory the natural and necessary offspring of the doubts, which scepticism has attempted to raise, respecting “ the pedigree of the Arabs.”

View, then, the question of this genealogy, as tried on the scriptural evidences only : few facts of ancient history, it will on consideration appear, have been subjected to a more searching ordeal ; none, it may safely be asserted, have passed more triumphantly through it. For, taking into account the collateral evidences of scripture, the truth of the Mosaic narrative stands here certified, by lights of history, reflected back on it through a period of nearly one thousand years. Such is the case of fact, with which the sceptic has to contend, when he affects to reject the scriptural proof of the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabians : and the case of fact being such, however questionable the historical morality of the proceeding, we may at least give future objectors credit, on the score of *prudence*, if they elude, as Mr. Gibbon has done, a direct encounter with it.

But the scriptural evidences of the descent from Ishmael will go far to determine a further important question, essentially connected with the subject of the present work ; namely, the *proportion* in which the posterity of this patriarch may be understood to constitute the population of *Mahometan* Arabia. For the subsequent diffusion in a given country, of any particular race of men, has generally been found to keep pace with the extent of its political predominance in ancient times.

Now the Hebrew Scriptures abound with every form of proof, that the Ishmaelites, in those remote ages, enjoyed and exercised a paramount sovereignty over the peninsula. So complete, indeed, was their political ascendancy, that, in the idiom of the Old Testament, the term Ishmaelite, or

Hagarite, is used as synonymous with that of Arab. In process of time, the ascendancy of Ishmael appears, from Scripture, to have centered in the family of Kedar*; and such, thenceforward, became the prominence of this single tribe, that "the tongue of Kedar" is the scriptural equivalent for the language of Arabia; and in the prophets (who expatiate in glowing descriptions of the wealth and glory of this people), Kedar stands as the representative of the whole Arab race. On the ordinary principles of population, consequently, there is conclusive ground to presume, that, with the growth of his power, the blood also of Ishmael diffused itself over Arabia; and that this blood, at the present day, predominates in the veins of the Bedouens. In fine, the authority of the scriptural testimonies, concerning the posterity of Ishmael, and their fortunes in the colonization of Arabia, being, on every received principle of historical evidence, unquestionable, the scepticism which presumes to challenge, without the shadow of a proof, the affiliation claimed by the Saracens, must be prepared knowingly and wilfully to run counter to the concurrent experience and judgment of mankind.

2. From the foregoing inquiry into the validity of the proof supplied by the Hebrew Scriptures, respecting the extraction of the Arabs, we now come to the discussion of a separate question, which Mr. Gibbon has thought fit to raise, concerning the independent existence and authority, on the same subject, of Arabian tradition. According to this eminent writer, the Arabs themselves possessed no national tradition, and retained no national memory, of their Ishmaelitic origin: but received, on the contrary, their earliest and only genealogical lights, through the medium of recent Jewish and Christian settlers, in and near the commencement of the Christian era.

* In a similar manner, the house of Israel merged in the tribe of Judah; and with corresponding effects: the name of *Jew* becoming synonymous with that of *Hebrew*; and *Judea* and *Canaan*, equivalent terms.

The persecutions under Titus and Hadrian had filled Arabia with Jews; those subsequently carried on against the early heretics, with Christian exiles. By both classes of colonists, copies of the Hebrew Scriptures were gradually introduced and circulated, in an Arabic version; and, in the perusal of the Mosaic records, the Arabs made the *discovery* of their Abrahamic descent.*

Such, in substance, is the gratuitous account, which we are called upon to receive, as a full solution of the acknowledged phenomena; without the production of a single historical fact or voucher to support it. Even on a first view, however, this ingenious theory seems to labour under rather a serious difficulty. For, had the pagan Arabs indeed derived their first acquaintance with the name of Ishmael, and the history of their own origin, from the Jewish Scriptures, and by the instrumentality of Jewish or Christian instructors, it is scarcely credible that they should have gone so far, as to adopt and glory in their Abrahamic pedigree, without being led onward to some acquaintance with the faith of Abraham; and to the recognition, if not the adoption, either of Judaism or of Christianity.

If, indeed, we admit the pre-existence of traditional lights on the subject, this consequence will not equally follow.† But assuming, with Mr. Gibbon, the discovery of the origin to have been *recent* in the first century, it seems unavoidable. National vanity must, on this supposition, have combined with missionary zeal, to open the hearts of the Arabs

* Compare *Decline and Fall*, ch. 1.

† *Time*, on this supposition, may be conceived to have hallowed the national corruptions of the true doctrine; and, like the Jewish and Romish traditionists, the idolatrous Arabs might contend, that *their superstition* was the true Abrahamic faith. On the other hand, had the very notion of an Abrahamic origin been new, the Saracens could hardly have persuaded themselves that their idolatry was the genuine religion of Abraham; but would rather be led to look for instruction from the Jews and Christians, from whom they received the story of their pedigree.

to the reception of the religion professed by their father Abraham, as revealed in the Old Testament, and confirmed by the New. No trace, however, of so natural a result is to be found among the idolaters of Mecca. With the tribe of Koreish, which valued itself so highly on its derivation from Ishmael, the direct contrary is ascertained to have been the case. The worship of the Koreish, from time immemorial to the age of Mahomet, consisted in the rites of a gross, unrelieved heathenism; where *Abraham* and *Ishmael*, according to the most approved accounts of the Caaba*, stood conspicuous among the idols.† Such was the state of religion in ante-Mahometan Arabia: it may safely be left to the decision of common sense, how far this state of religious belief consists with the hypothesis framed by Mr. Gibbon.

But the hypothesis involves a consequence, which brings it at once to the practical test of historical fact and experience. For it plainly assumes, and rests itself on the assumption, that the Arabs, until the age immediately prior to the Christian era, remained wholly in the dark on the subject of their Ishmaelitish parentage: it prepares us to be informed, and purports indirectly to inform us, that no traces of this parentage, previously to the time above specified, are discoverable in the national rites or usages of a people, proverbially tenacious of their ancient customs; and whose manners in their native deserts, like the inflexible laws of

* It is a noted fact, that Mahometans constantly maintain, that the Caaba was built or restored, by Abraham and Ishmael. On this tradition, the learned Reland observes, — “*Credibile est hanc domum fuisse aliquis ex patriarchis gentis Ismaeliticae, quam posterius uti sacram coluerunt.*” De Relig. Mohamm. p. 118. note m. The conjecture would be a still more probable one, had he supposed it to have been originally a *place of worship*, or *temple*, erected by some later patriarch descended from Ishmael. Its *antiquity*, as a temple, is certainly high. See Diodorus Siculus, as quoted by Mr. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 245.

† Abulfed. Annal. Muslem. tom. i. pp. 150—153. Cf. Ebn Al Athir, and Al Jannabi, ap. Pocock, Specim. p. 98, 99.

the Medes and Persians, have been never known to favour or endure a change.*

The inquiry remains open to us, whether the ascertained facts of Arabian antiquity correspond with this arbitrary theory; whether such notices of the customs of the ancient Arabians, as history has transmitted, be compatible with that state of unconsciousness, in which they are represented to have lain, down to a comparatively recent date, on the subject of their descent from Ishmael and Abraham?

The question may be brought to a compendious issue, upon a well-known national custom; the practice, by the ancient Arabs, of the rite of circumcision. There has been some waste of learning, on the part of writers of a certain class, with a view to invalidate the divine institution of this rite, as practised originally by the Jews: and Moses is gravely convicted of having borrowed it from the Egyptians, among whom, in common with the Ethiopians, Arabians, and other eastern nations, it was primitively in use. Now, it might have been remembered, that the divine institution of any rite or observance, may consist, quite as much, and as well, in something peculiar in the *mode* of its performance, as in the mere fact of the appointment. Isaac, for example, was circumcised, by God's commandment, on the eighth day after his birth; the period of his circumcision passed as a law to all his posterity; it became incorporated with the law of Moses; and this divinely-authorized peculiarity served and sufficed, to distinguish the Jewish rite, from the various modes of circumcision in use among Gentile nations.

As Isaac, according to the commandment of Jehovah, was circumcised on the eighth day, so Ishmael, in obedience to the same divine authority, had been previously received

* Let Mr. Gibbon himself be our authority for the statement: "The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert; and in the portrait of the modern *Bedoweens*, we may trace the features of their ancestors, who, in the age of *Moses* or *Mahomet*, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses, and camels, and sheep, to the same springs, and the same pastures." *Decline and Fall*, vol. ix. p. 223, 224.

into covenant with the God of his father Abraham, by the same rite of circumcision, in his thirteenth year. The sign itself, it is certain, remained among his reputed descendants. But whether it remained in use, as transmitted from him, is a question which can be determined, only by our knowledge of the received origin, and the manner of administering the rite, as it was preserved in the practice of the ancient Arabs. Now their national usage and tradition on this highly important point of evidence, it fortunately happens, are among the few scattered fragments of Arabian antiquity, which have escaped the ravages of time, and which stand incidentally recorded, by writers of competent and independent authority; living sufficiently near, also, to the country and the times of which they treat, to rank as authoritative witnesses.

Josephus has a very remarkable passage, touching on the origin of circumcision among the Jews and Arabs: in which he first makes mention of the circumcision of Isaac; then introduces that of Ishmael; and states concerning each, as matter of universal and immemorial notoriety, that the Jews and the Arabians severally practised the rite, conformably with the precedents given them, in the persons of their respective fathers. His words are these: — “Now when Sarah had completed her ninetieth, and Abraham his hundredth year, a son (Isaac) is born unto them: whom they forthwith circumcise on the eighth day; and from him the Jews derive their custom, of circumcising children after the same interval. But the Arabians administer circumcision at the close of the thirteenth year: for Ishmael, the founder of their nation, the son of Abraham by his concubine, was circumcised at that time of life.” *

* ‘Αυτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐνενηκόντα εἶχεν ἐτη, ἑκατόν δὲ Ἀβραμὸς. τικτεται δὲ παῖς ἑκατέρων τῶ ὕστατῳ εἰτεῖ ὃν εὐθύς μετ’ ὀγδοῇν ἡμέραν περιτεμνοῦσι. καὶ ἐκεῖνου, μετὰ τοσαύτας ἡμέρας, ἐθὺς ἐχούσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ποιεῖσθαι τὰς περιτομὰς. Ἀραβες δὲ, μετὰ ἐτος τρισκαίδεκατον Ἰσμαήλος γὰρ ὁ κτίστης αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐθνους, Ἀβραμῶ γενομένος ἐκ τῆς παλλακῆς, ἐν τούτῳ περιτεμενεται τῷ χρόνῳ. Flav. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. x. § 5. p. 26. ed. Hudson.

This testimony occurs in the first century of the Christian era ; that is, nearly at the *commencement* of the period, from whence Mr. Gibbon has undertaken to date the first discovery to the Arabs, of their Ishmaelitish origin. It records an existing national usage, as, from time immemorial, obtaining throughout the peninsula ; which, if it prevailed according to the circumstances stated by Josephus, must be finally decisive of the question. For, if the Arabians of old circumcised their children at the age of thirteen years, in consequence and commemoration of their descent from Ishmael, who was himself circumcised at that period, there can no doubt remain on any reasonable mind, that the memory of their origin was preserved among them by an independent tradition. But the circumstances under which he wrote are conclusive to show, that the statement of Josephus, in this instance, gives a correct representation of the facts. This historian lived in the adjoining country of Judea, where the customs and manners of Arabia, from constant intercourse with its inhabitants, must have been perfectly well known. He composed his history pretty obviously with a view to the information of his Roman masters ; and was little likely, therefore, to insert a figment relating to his own times, and which could be at once exposed by every Arab soldier in the camp, or slave in the court, of Vespasian.

But the matter itself held out no temptation for a fabricator ; since the question about the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael had not been so much as raised : and Josephus introduces the fact, and the custom arising out of it, in that incidental way, which bespeaks a perfect unconsciousness of their being applicable to any use, beyond an ordinary historical illustration. The position and opportunities of the writer, the notoriety of the matter of fact asserted, the facilities of exposure, if untrue, and the dearth of motives, in this instance, for the fabrication of a falsehood, thus combine to establish the authority of this testimony ; and, in so doing, to demonstrate the independent existence, in Arabia, of an unbroken tradition, preserving among the Arabs, through

the surest possible medium, that of a permanent national rite, the memory of their descent from Ishmael.

To this testimony of Josephus, may now be added a similar testimony from Origen. This learned ancient merely touches upon the point, in the way of illustration. But the incidental manner of his evidence sensibly augments its value. "The natives of Judea," Origen states, "generally circumcise their children on the eighth day: but the Ishmaelites, who inhabit Arabia, universally practise circumcision in the thirteenth year. For this," he subjoins, "*history* tells us concerning them." *

This writer, as well as Josephus, lived near the spot; and had, probably, himself opportunities of learning particulars respecting the Arabians. But his testimony is chiefly valuable, as showing that, in his day, the beginning of the third century, the original testimony of the Jewish historians, as to the tradition possessed by the Arabians of their descent from Ishmael, was credited and uncontradicted.

But Josephus further establishes the existence of an unbroken tradition in Arabia, respecting the descent from Ishmael, in another important statement; resting, like the former, on his own knowledge of the facts, as they still existed in his day. It is where, following the narrative of Genesis, he makes mention of the names, and settlement in

* Origen introduces the two national customs, in illustration of the absurdity of astrological calculations. Ουκ οίδα δ' ὅπως δυνήσονται σωσαι, το των μεν εν Ιουδαία σχεδον παντων τοιονδε ειναι τον σχηματισμον, επι της γενεσεως, ὡς οκταημερον αυτους λαμβανειν περιτομην . . . των δε εν Ισμαηλιταις τοις κατα την Αραβιαν, τοιονδε, ὡς παντας περιτεμεσθαι τρισκαιδεκαετεις. τουτο γαρ ιστορεται περι αυτων. Origen. in Gen. Op. tom. ii. p. 16. ed. Bened.

The reader will not fail to contrast the expression *σχεδον παντων*, applied to the circumcision of the Jews, with that of *ὡς παντας*, when speaking of that in use among the Arabs. According to Origen, the eighth day was only the general period among the Jews, but the thirteenth year, the universal period among the Arabians, for practising the rite of circumcision. For the connection of this national usage with Ishmael and Abraham, cf. Id. tom. i. p. 614.

Arabia, of the twelve sons of Ishmael. They occupied, he tells us, the country between the Euphrates and the Red Sea; and gave this region the name of Nabatena. These patriarchs, he adds, conferred their own names upon the entire nation of the Arabs, and upon their several tribes.* By which last remark, the historian plainly intends to intimate, that the Arabian tribes deriving from Ishmael, were, in his time, severally known and distinguished, by the names of those sons of Ishmael, who were their respective progenitors. The fact is abundantly authenticated by subsequent authorities.

In the fourth century, Saint Jerome, in his commentary on Jeremiah, describes Kedar, as a country of the Arabian desert, inhabited by the Ishmaelites, who were then termed Saracens.† The same Father, in his comment on Isaiah,

* Ανδρωθεντι δη τω παιδι γυναιον αgetαι, τω γενος Αιγυπτιον* ενθεν δ' ην και αυτη το αρχαιον. εξ του παιδες Ισμαηλω γινονται δωδεκα παντες· Ναβαιωθης, Κηδαρος, Αβδεηλος, Μαδσαμας, Ιδουμας, Μασμαος, Μασσαος, Χοδαδος, Θεμανος, Ιετουρος, Ναφαισος, Καδμας. ούτοι πασαν την απ' Ευφρατου καθηκουσαν προς την Ερυθραν θαλασσαν κατοικουσι, Ναβατην την χωραν ονομασαντες, εισι δε ουτοι οί των Αραβων εθνος, και τας φυλας απ' αυτων καλουσι. δια τε την αρετην αυτων, και δια το Αβραμω αξιωμα. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. xii. § 4. p. 30. Where Josephus does not deny the existence of other tribes, but asserts the *supremacy* of the Ishmaelites. The fact is equally legible in heathen writers. Thus Plutarch speaks των Αραβων, τους καλουμενους Ναβαταιους, in Demetr. p. 895. And Strabo observes Ναβαταιοι εισιν οί Ιδουμαιοι. See the names Ναβαιωθης and Ηδουμας, in the catalogue given by Josephus of the sons of Ishmael. Antiq. Jud. lib. i. cap. 13.

† “ Onus in Arabia, &c. Quærenti mihi, et diu cum deliberatione tractanti quæ esset Arabia, ad quam propheticus sermo dirigitur, utrum Moabitæ, an Ammonitæ, et Idumæi, cunctæque aliæ regiones, quæ nunc et Arabia nuncupantur, occasionem tribuit in hac eadem Visione quod sequitur : *Auferetur omnis gloria Cedar, et reliquæ numeri sagittariorum fortium de filiis Cedar imminuentur* : ISMAELITAS debere intelligi. Liber Geneseos docet ex Ismaele, Cedar et Agarenos, qui, *perverso nomine*, Saraceni vocantur, esse genitos. Hi per totam habitant solitudinem. Latissima eremus ab India ad Mauritaniam usque tendatur, et Atlanticum Oceanum, quod puto Jeremiæ titulum sonare : — *Ad Cedar, et ad regna*

again speaks of Kedar, as the country of the Saracens, who in Scripture are called Ishmaelites. And observes of Nabaioth, that he was one of the sons of Ishmael, after whose names the Arabian desert is called.*

We possess, then, it appears, unexceptionable testimony to this fact, that various districts of Arabia retained, to a period comparatively modern, designations originally derived from the sons of Ishmael, by whom Scripture states them to have been peopled. Over and above the notices of these districts by their several names, to be found in the Old Testament, we have historical mention of some of them, in uninspired writers.† One appellation, in particular,

Asor, &c. Totum prophetiæ testimonium de Jeremia posui, ut quæ sit Cedar indubitanter intelligas. Et considera quomodo Ismaelitarum, hoc est Saracenorum, proprie gentem descripserit, *qui habitant in tentoriis,* &c. S. Hieron. in Jerem. Op. tom. iv. pp. 217, 218. edit. Veron. 1735.

* “*Madian et Ephra regiones sunt trans Arabiam, fertiles Camelorum, omnisque provincia appellatur Saba, unde fuit et Saba regina, quæ venit sapientiam audire Salomonis: et ipsa deferens aurum et thus, pacifico regi multa deportans, et ab eo majora suscipiens. Cedar autem regio Saracenorum est, qui in Scriptura vocantur Ismaelitæ. Et Nabaioth unus est filiorum Ismael, ex quorum nominibus solitudo appellatur, quæ frugum inops, plena est pecorum.*” S. Hieron. Comment. in Isai. lib. xvii. cap. ix. Op. tom. iv. p. 721, 722.

“Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs*, as he denominates them, or rulers of tribes. And Melo, quoted by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor, a heathen historian, relates, that Abraham [Ishmael], of his Egyptian wife, begat twelve sons; who, departing into Arabia, *divided the region between them, and were the first kings of the inhabitants; whence even to our days, the Arabians have twelve kings, of the same names as the first.*” Bp. Newton on Proph. v. i. p. 223.

† The testimony of Strabo, so far as it goes, is in substance the same as that cited from St. Jerome. *Πρωτοι δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας Ναθαταῖοι καὶ Σαβαῖοι τὴν εὐδαιμονα Αραβίαν νεμονται, καὶ πολλακὶς κατετρεχον αὐτης, πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων γενεσθαι — Μητροπολις δὲ τῶν Ναθαταίων ἐστὶν ἡ Πέτρα καλουμένη — Εξω δὲ τοῦ περιβολοῦ, χώρα ἐρημος ἡ πλεῖστη, καὶ μαλίστη ἡ πρὸς Ἰουδαίαν.* Geograph. l. xvi. p. 1106. ed. Oxon. 1807.

Having noticed in another passage, the neighbourhood of the Sabeans to the Bedowcens,—[*Tois Νομάδοις*] συναπτει δ' ἡ τῶν Σαβαίων εὐδαιμονεστατη

given by Josephus as the most prominent, that of Nabatene, or Nabatea, from Nebaioth*, the eldest of the sons of Ishmael, is familiar to the learned at the present day, as the *classical* name for Arabia Petræa.

Now, evidence of this kind, once clearly brought out, is peculiarly forcible and conclusive. For there are no land-

(p. 1105.), Strabo thus describes these wandering tribes, — *Και μετα ταυτην κολποι τινες, και χωρα Νομαδων, απο καμηλων εχοντων τον βιον· και γαρ πολεμουσιν απ' αυτων, και οδενουσι, και τρεφονται τω τε γαλακτι χρωμενοι, και ταις σαρξι.* p. 1104.

He adds, that the Arab tribes are distinguished from each other, by names of remote antiquity; and, from his mention of the Nabateans, it is a fair presumption, that, had he completed his catalogue, the names of other sons of Ishmael (agreeably to the statements of Josephus, of Origen, and of St. Jerome) would have occurred in it. That we do not meet them in the classics, is not, however, to be wondered at; for the Grecian geographer loftily apprizes us, that he cannot charge his tongue or his pen with such obscure and unpronounceable appellations: *ου λεγω δε των εθνων τα ονοματα παλαια δια την αδοξian, και αμα αποπιαν της εκφορας αυτων.* p. 1104. Perhaps, indeed, we should not have been much enlightened by his nomenclature, if we may judge by a specimen, — *καλουνται δε Δεβαι.*

But Strabo's words, which recognize *των εθνων τα ονοματα παλαια*, in conjunction with the known derivation of one country and people of Arabia mentioned by him, viz. *Ναβατηνη*, and *Ναβαταιοι*, from Nebaioth, are a highly valuable confirmation of the Jewish and Christian testimonies, to the existence of Arab nations named after the sons of Ishmael, down to so late a period as the first ages of the Christian era.

Upon one national appellative occurring in Strabo, learned conjecture has been busy: it is where he speaks of the expedition of Gallus: *η δε εξης ην επηει Νομαδων ην, ερημος τα πολλα ως αληθως, εκαλειτο δε Αραρηνην βασιλευς δ' ην Σαβος. και ταυτην ανοδιαis διηλθε, κατατριψας ημερας πεντηκοντα, μεχρι πολews Αγρανων.* Lib. xvi. p. 1109.

For *Αγρανων*, one editor proposes to substitute *αγραιων*, and another, *Ατρανων*, vel *Ατρηνων*. Both various readings would seem to explain the *ignotum per ignotius*. In a case of confessed difficulty, the author may venture to submit as his conjecture,— for *Αραρηνην*, read *Αγαρηνην*, and for *Αγρανων*, *Αγαρηνων*·— which restores a consistent sense, and re-conducts us to the Ishmaelitic origin of the Arabian family. So Psalm lxxxiii. we find, “the *Ishmaelites* and *Hagarenes*.”— LXX. οἱ *Αγαρηνοι*.

* So, again, *Iturea*, from *Jetur*.

marks of history more universal, or more permanent, than the names of countries affixed by original settlers. We may as justly question the derivations of Hungary from the Huns, France from the Franks, England from the Angles, Turkey from the Turks, or, to come nearer to the point in question, of Judea from Judah and the Jews, as those of the several districts of Arabia, from the respective sons of Ishmael. The proof drawn from Scripture is thus, therefore, corroborated and completed, by a collateral and independent proof derived from Arabian tradition.

A new and broader light is thrown on this branch of the argument, when we proceed to connect these external evidences of a constant tradition among the Arabs, on the subject of their Ishmaelitish parentage, with the internal marks of the existence of such a tradition*, which abound in the Koran, and in the early Mahometan writers.

The Koran contains a great variety of particulars relating to preceding Prophets; partly corresponding with Scripture history; but presenting, in the great majority of examples, either gross corruptions of, or total departures from, the sacred text. Many of these stories relate spe-

* A correspondence of a different kind from any noticed in the text, may here be mentioned, which seems peculiarly corroborative of the common origin of the Jews and the Arabians. The computation of time is among the most general, and the most fixed, of national usages: in few respects have nations been less disposed to vary, or to borrow from each other. But in their kalendars, the Jews and the ante-Mahometan Arabs coincided; and the Arabic division of months is ascertained by the learned, to have been the *only division of time* coincident with that of the Hebrew Scriptures. See Hyde, *De Religione Veterum Persarum*, p. 239.

Another strong mark of common origin and common moral law, may be seen in the agreement between the Jews and the ante-Mahometan Arabians, respecting the *prohibited degrees of marriage*. Compare Sale, P. D. p. 181., with the prohibitions of the Mosaic law.

A third indication of their Abrahamic origin might be noticed, in the abstinence from swine's flesh, which was not more religiously observed by the Jews, than by the ancient Arabians. See Mill, *De Mohamm. ante Mohamm.* § xx.

cially to Abraham and Ishmael; and purport to give their history, as connected with the Arabians. These last accounts, Mahomet is generally, and not unreasonably, supposed to have borrowed from the Hebrew Scriptures; which he thus perverted, to accommodate them to his own purposes and views. The Koran itself, however, has some internal marks, which render it more than doubtful, that this could have been uniformly the case. For it repeatedly appeals to the acquaintance of the pagan Arabs themselves, with the stories it relates, as matters of old national tradition; and it introduces the still stronger evidence of their own testimony, to the same effect, in their constant reply to Mahomet and his doctrines, that what he taught them was nothing more than “fables of the ancients.” So in the chapter intitled *The Bee*: — “When it is said unto them (the pagan Arabs) what hath your Lord sent down unto Mohammed? they answer, *Fables of ancient times*.”* Again, in the chapter termed *The true Believers*: — “But the unbelieving Meccans say, as their predecessors said: they say, When we shall be dead, and have become dust and bones, shall we really be raised to life? We have already been threatened, and our fathers also heretofore: this is nothing but *fables of the ancients*.”†

From these passages, as indeed from the general structure of the Koran, it seems unquestionable, that Mahomet’s habit was to re-produce to his idolatrous countrymen, in his pretended revelation, national traditions with which the Arabs were prescriptively familiar.‡ For it is perfectly in-

* Sale’s Koran, vol. ii. p. 78.

† Ibid. pp. 183, 184.

‡ “The learned Levinus Warnerus, in his treatise of the manners of the Arabians before Mahometanism, asserts, that the Korisians or Koreish, the most noble tribe of that great peninsula, had preserved themselves from idolatry; that they had constantly used circumcision, ever since the time of Ishmael; that they were frequent in prayer, were very bountiful in their alms, and that the more devout among them never drank wine.” Vertot, *History of the Knights of Malta*, vol. i. p. 230. English Translation.

credible that he should appeal, as he has done, to their own knowledge of the relations which he makes, and publish written statements, of the admission of these relations, by his adversaries, as known traditions, if his assertions were unsupported by facts. The narratives of the Koran also bear strong internal marks of this traditional origin. In particular, they introduce names of ancient people, and ancient prophets, as proverbial among the Arabians, which no where occur in the Old Testament. They must have formed a very inadequate idea of the character and genius of Mahomet, who can suspect him of attempting on his contemporaries so palpable and clumsy an imposition. The novelties really broached in the Koran, he could afford to hazard: for they are, from their nature, beyond the reach of direct contradiction. But, had he presumed to erect his system on a newly-fabricated tradition, its fall must have been as that of a house whose foundation is on the sand. On the other hand, the constant references of the Koran to popular national traditions, are in perfect accordance with the general tenor of Mahomet's policy and procedures. The same motives, which induced him to adopt the temple of Mecca, and the pagan rites of the Caaba, as the groundwork of the ceremonial part of his religion, would naturally suggest the adoption of Arabian tradition, as the basis of his doctrines and precepts in the Koran. In point of fact, Mahomet professed to rest his faith on both foundations; and the reality of the one, supposes and establishes the reality of the other.

According to this representation, Mahomet found the platform of his religion laid to his hand, in the opinions and usages which prevailed among the members of his tribe. For Islamism is very nearly reducible to the particulars here enumerated; viz. the acknowledgment of the Divine Unity, circumcision, stated prayers, alms-giving, and abstinence from wine. It is, however, a clear over-statement to say, that the Koreish were not idolaters.

The temple of Mecca, lastly, contained sensible vouchers of the existence of a genuine tradition in Arabia, commemorating the descent of its tribes from Ishmael and Abraham.* The high antiquity of the Caaba is undisputed. The permanent character of its rites, is certified by our knowledge of the adherence of the Arabs, in every age, to their ancient customs. But, from the uniform consent of Mahometan writers, it further appears, that the statues of Abraham and Ishmael, which, from remote antiquity, had held a conspicuous place in the Caaba, and constituted the principal object of its idol-worship, remained to the time of Mahomet, and were there found by the Mussulmans, after the capture of Mecca. Mahomet, Abulfeda tells us, when he took Mecca, in the eighth year of the Hejra, found and destroyed in the Caaba, on his entering the temple, the image of Abraham†, holding in his hand seven arrows with-

* In the ante-Mahometan romance of *Antar*, the genuine antiquity of which is established by the strongest internal evidence, e. g. by the almost total absence of allusions to Mahometan notions or usages, — we find the descent from *Ishmael* affirmed, vol. i. p. 1.; the veneration in which *Abraham* was held by the Arabs, the tradition of the Caaba having been his dwelling-place, and descriptions of the pilgrimages to the shrine of this patriarch at Mecca, before the time of Mahomet, vol. i. pp. 11—38. of Mr. Terrick Hamilton's English translation.

† The original words of Abulfeda are too remarkable and expressive to be intrusted to a mere reference : —

ودجل الكعبة وراي فيها الشخص علي صور الملائكة
وصورة ابراهيم وفي يده الانزالام يستقسم بها فقال قاتلهم
الله جعلوا شيخنا بالانزالام ما شار ابراهيم والانزالام،
ثم امر بتلك الصور فطمست وصلي في البيت

“Dein ipsam intrabat Cabam, ubi efficta ad angelorum imaginem simulacra numinum conspiciens, et *Abrahami statuam*, sortilegii sagittas manu tenentem, quas in ambiguis rebus tanquam oraculum solebant consulere : Scelesti, aiebat, venerabilem nostrum senem dominum et patrem, [*Anglice our Sheikh*] fecerunt sortilegium ! quid Abrahamo rei cum sortibus?

out heads or feathers, such as the Arabs use in divination ; and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities, among whom, as Al Jannabi and other writers add, was Ishmael, with divining arrows also in his hand.

This incidental mark of the Abrahamic derivation, both of the ancestry, and the primitive worship, of the ancient Arabs, receives valuable light and confirmation from the one grand principle, which is ascertained, by a variety of evidence, to have lain at the root of that worship, even in its most debased and corrupted form. In proposing, for the adoption of the Arabs, his doctrine of the Divine Unity, Mahomet professed only to revive and recommend anew to his countrymen the faith, which their fathers had held in its original purity, and which they themselves still retained, although clouded and concealed beneath the gross darkness of their idolatrous superstitions. The patriarchal doctrine of one supreme God, therefore, according to Mahomet, was, down to his time, still distinctly recognized in Arabia.* And,

Quibus dictis, protinus dirui et exturbari jubebat statuas ex æde, in qua, sic lustrata et repurgata, ipse deinceps preces peragebat." *Annal. Muslem.* tom. i. pp. 150—153.

* *Koran, passim.* M. Oelsner regards the idolatry* of Arabia as, in great part, a comparatively *recent* departure from the patriarchal faith : " C'est ainsi que le culte des Mages c'étoit introduit dans plusieurs tribus, et que les Chaldéens en avoient engagé d'autres, *deux ou trois siècles avant Mohammed*, à renoncer AUX LUMIÈRES D'ABRAHAM, pour embrasser le polytheisme Sabéen." *Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* p. 8. But the prevalence of the belief in the Divine Unity among the pagan Arabs, to the time of Mahomet inclusive, may be deduced from a genuine *popular* source recently opened to general readers, the *A. M. Bedoween romance of Antar*. By the mere collation of the numerical proportion, in this native production, between the invocations to idols, and the addresses to the one supreme God, we may at once perceive the preponderance of the patriarchal belief over idolatry, even in the latest and worst age of pagan Arabia. The result supplies a decisive practical confirmation of what has been commonly alleged on this subject, upon the authority of the *Koran* and tradition. " The very curious romance of *Antar*," remarks Mr.

not to adduce here any collateral testimonies to this fact, the appeals of the Koran to contemporary practices and usages, supply irrefragable proof that the fact was strictly so. The prayer used by the ancient Arabs when addressing the Allah Taâla, or "Most High God," has been preserved by Shahrestani *; and the usage is brought in evidence against their idolatry, by Mahomet in the Koran. "It is your Lord," exclaims the pretended prophet, "who driveth forward the ships for you in the sea, that ye may seek to enrich yourselves of his abundance by commerce. When a misfortune befalleth you at sea, the false deities whom ye invoke are forgotten by you, except Him alone: yet when He bringeth you safe to land, ye retire afar off from Him, and

Hallam, "written perhaps before the appearance of Mohammed, seems to render it probable, that, however idolatry, as we are told by Sale, might prevail in some parts of Arabia, *yet the genuine religion of the descendants of Ishmael was a belief in the unity of God, as strict as is laid down in the Koran itself*; and accompanied by the same antipathy, partly religious, partly national, towards the fire-worshippers, which Mohammed inculcated. This" Mr. H. concludes "corroborates what I had said in the text *before the publication of that work*." History of the Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 166.

The Count de Boulainvilliers attempts to account for the phenomenon, by assigning *their solitary life* as the cause of the preservation of theism in such force among the Arabs! "Je reviens volontiers à la louange de la solitude des Arabes. Elle a conservé chez eux *plus long temps, et avec moins de mélange*, le sentiment naturel de la véritable Divinité." Vie de Mahom. p. 147. With the Quixotic theories of this ingenious enthusiast we have no concern: his admission of the fact in question is enough for our end. The matter of fact once ascertained, its true solution is obvious; viz. the *patriarchal origin* of the religion of Arabia.

* لَبِّكَ اللَّهُمَّ لَبِّكَ لَا شَرِيكَ لَكَ إِلَّا شَرِيكَ هُوَ لَكَ
تَمْلِكُهُ وَمَا مَلِكُ

"i. e. Cultui tuo me dedo, O Deus, cultui tuo me dedo. Non est tibi socius, nisi socius quem tu possides, et una quicquid ille possidet," Shahrestani, ap. Pocock. Specim. p. 111.

return to your idols." And again, "When they (the idolaters) sail in a ship, they call upon God, sincerely exhibiting unto Him the true religion: but when He bringeth them safe to land, behold, they return unto their idolatry."

The Greeks and Romans, in their extremity, applied for succour to the deity appropriated to the specific case; thereby evincing that the prevalent belief had completely sunk to the level of their established mythology. But the Arabs, it appears, untutored and barbarous as they were in other respects, still preserved among them a practical sense of the existence, and the providence, of the One Supreme Being. They wanted, indeed, with their idols *, in times of security; but they instinctively betook themselves to "The Most High God †" in the hour of peril. For a single proof, stronger internal evidence needs not be desired than this fact supplies, of the alleged derivation of the faith of the Arabs from their father Abraham.

Various *external* signs betokening its patriarchal origin, may be traced in the ante-Mahometan worship of the Caaba. Among these, one custom is sufficiently remarkable, to claim a distinct notice in this place, inasmuch as it has been alluded to, and censured, in the Koran. The pagan Arabs were used to compass the Caaba naked, because

* The *apology* of the pagan Arabs for their idol-worship is preserved in the Koran: "We worship them only that they may bring us nearer unto God." Sale's Koran, ch. xxxix. ad init. conf. ch. xliii. ad init. Does this differ widely from the apology of the church of Rome?

† The celebrated symbol of the Mussulman faith, لا اله الا الله "There is no God but one God," was the confession in use among the ancient Arabians, from whom it was borrowed by Mahomet. See Mill. § viii. In this formulary, the discrimination between the terms الله and اله is peculiarly observable: الله signifies merely a God, any Deity; الله invariably denotes the Most High God, and Him alone. "الله pro اله, 'O θεος, DEUS ILLE OPTIMUS MAXIMUS. *Fitque peculiari sua forma nomen proprium, respondens τῷ ΙΕΗΟΒΑ.*" Golius in voc.

clothes, they said, were the signs of their disobedience to God. The celebrated black stone of the Caaba also, the primitive source and object of Arabian idolatry *, strongly indicates the origin to which it has been uniformly referred. The Arabs attribute its introduction into the temple of Mecca, to the immediate posterity of Ishmael. The peculiar kind of superstition is just what might be expected to arise from the abuse of an early patriarchal custom, that of setting up stones, on particular spots, in honour of the true God. † While the connection is further made out, by the exact correspondence, in this particular, between the idolatry of the ancient Israelites, and that of the ante-Mahometan Arabians. Their identity might be largely shown, from the Old Testament : but a passage from the prophecy of Isaiah will suffice. The prophet thus indignantly reproves the Jews for their idolatry : — “ Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion : they, they, are thy lot : even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering.” ‡

To recapitulate, in a few words, the state of the evidence for the descent of the principal Arab tribes from Ishmael, I

* ‘Ο δὲ ῥηθεὶς λίθος — παλαιὸν προσεκυννουν οἱ Ἰσμαελῖται. Euthym. Zygab. in Panopl.

† For the Arabian custom, see Pocock. Spec. p. 113 ; where the learned author, with great manliness and candour, vindicates the Mahometans from the imputation of idolatry. After Maimonides, he most truly affirms, that, “ Error eorum, et stultitia eorum, consistit, non tam quod falsa numina, quam quod falso verum colant.”

‡ Isaiah lvii. 6. Compare De Marlès, tom. i. pp. 36, 37. Mr. Selden has incidentally noticed an etymological proof of the common origin and character of the idolatry of the Israelites and the Arabians : “ *Bethshemesh*, Palæstinæ urbs non semel in sacris memorata, a solis in eo fano, ni fallor, dicta est. Uti et Βαισαμψα *Arabum*, ad Mare Rubrum sita, quod a *Bethshemesh* corruptum ; δ ἐστὶν Οἶκος Ἑλίου, ut recte Stephanus in De Urbibus.” De Diis. Syr. Op. tom. iii. p. 310. Here we have the adoption, by the Arabs, of an Israelitish idol ; no light presumption of a continued connection between the Jews and Ishmaelites, in matters of religion generally.

would observe, that the pedigree is authenticated, 1., by the direct, and 2., by the indirect testimony of Scripture : 3., by the rite of circumcision, as practised among the Arabians, from time immemorial, prior to the Christian era ; whose peculiar practice, together with their reasons for it, is stated incidentally by Josephus and Origen : 4., by the further testimony of Josephus, Saint Jerome and others, to the existence in Arabia, of the tribes sprung from the sons of Ishmael, distinguished severally by their names : 5., by the names of ascertained districts, corresponding with those of tribes : 6., by internal marks of a genuine Arabian tradition * discoverable in the Koran, and in Mahometan writers : and, 7., by visible signs of the same tradition, among the idols of the Caaba, taken in connection with the ascertained belief in the one Supreme God, which still subsisted under the incumbent weight of heathenish superstitions.

By way of counterpoise to this accumulation of proofs, Mr. Gibbon has contented himself with opposing the gratuitous expressions of his own scepticism, as to the foundation of the national pedigree ; and the modest force of his own unsupported assertions,—that the Arabs drew their first notions of the obnoxious origin, from the Hebrew Scriptures, somewhere within the first centuries of the Christian era ; and that the discovery was made by them, in the perusal of these Scriptures in an Arabic version, of whose existence, even his own ingenuity is unable to frame the fair semblance of

* Can a curious Arabian tradition, mentioned by Strabo, have any connection with the story of Hagar and Ishmael ? Speaking of a district bordering on the Red Sea, he proceeds, *ενταυθα δε και την ευκαρπιαν των φοινικων ειναι θαυμαστην* προεστηκεσι δε του αλσους ανηρ και γυνη, δια γενους αποδεδειγμενοι, δερματοφοροι, τροφην απο των φοινικων εχοντες* κοιταζονται δ' επι δενδρων καλυβοποιησαμενοι, δια το πληθος των θηριων.* Strab. Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 1103.

This strange story bears a singular resemblance to that of Ishmael and Hagar. The destitute condition of the Arabian patriarch and his mother, after their banishment into the wilderness, may be discerned dimly in the distance, through the mist of a remote national tradition, imperfectly preserved by a Greek writer.

a proof! How far he has, in this instance, faithfully discharged the duty of an historian, a pretty exact judgment may be formed, by a simple comparison of the evidence adduced in the present dissertation, with the doubts and insinuations gratuitously advanced in the fiftieth chapter of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

In the discussion of this essential topic, it is the insidious aim of Mr. Gibbon, to confound the distinct and unequal authorities, of history and heraldry; to identify the broad question of national origin, with the narrow one of family descent. The studied ambiguity of his style seems wilfully to leave it doubtful, whether he intends to assail the single steps of a pedigree, or the entire foundation of the national tradition. Yet it is palpable, that the reasoning which might subvert the one species of authority, would leave wholly unaffected the evidences of the other. The Jews, for example, have long lost their pedigrees: but who presumes to question their national derivation? With as little reason can flaws in their genealogies be adduced, to bring under suspicion the national descent of the Arabs.

The personal descent of Mahomet is placed eminently above question, by the establishment of the Ishmaelitish origin of the chief Arab tribes. For he was an Ishmaelite of the wide-spread stock of Kedar; an inhabitant of the Hejaz, the original settlement, and a native of Mecca, the primitive metropolis, of that once powerful people. In his own genealogy, in particular, "he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility: he sprang from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba."* The national origin,

* Gibbon. The Koreish may be styled the Pharisees of Arabia. Like that Jewish sect, they claimed a spiritual superiority over their countrymen; and prided themselves above all things, on their zeal for God and religion.

Hence they obtained the lofty title of **أهل الله** "The people of God."

See Mill. *De M. A. M.* § v.

therefore, once confirmed, the genealogy of Mahomet holds an undisputed precedence: he was, to borrow a Hebrew form of expression, an Ishmaelite of the Ishmaelites*; uniting by birth-right, in his person, the princely and the priestly honours of his race.

Before I close this dissertation, I have briefly to notice two important particulars connected with the original settlement of Arabia: first, the account given by the Arabs themselves, of the early peopling of the peninsula; and, secondly, the accessions to its Ishmaelitish population, at subsequent periods, of tribes also descending from Abraham, and eventually blending with the Ishmaelites, as the offspring of this common father.

The old Arabians, by native writers, are generally subdivided into three classes: the lost Arabs; the pure Arabs; and the naturalized or mixed Arabs. The extinct class is stated to have derived its origin from Shem, the son of Noah: the second class from Kahtan or Joktan, the son of Hud or Heber: the third class alone are properly the Ishmaelites. Some Mahometan historians, however, reckon the lost tribes, as the only pure Arabians; esteeming the posterity of Kahtan and of Ishmael as alike adscititious, or grafts on the primitive stock. Ishmael, the Arab writers further relate, by marriage with the daughter of Modad the Jorhamite, blended the Hebrew stock, with this second branch of the Arabian family. On the principle that the term Hebrew is derived from Heber, the distinction, it has been remarked, seems a fanciful one; since Peleg, the ancestor of Ishmael, and Joktan,

* The Koreish were remarkable for their commercial habits; and especially for their trading expeditions between Egypt and Syria. The habits of this tribe strongly remind us of the Ishmaelites described in Genesis, xxxvii. 25, &c. Compare Josephus, Antiq. Jud. tom. i. p. 52. and Sale, Prelim. Disc. p. 33. The hereditary transmission of habits and pursuits, so observable among the Arabs, is no inconsiderable presumption in favour of the direct descent of the Koreish from those first Ishmaelitish traders. It is observed by M. Niebuhr, of Mahomet, that his calling of a *dealer in camels*, proves him to have been a sheik of the first nobility of his tribe.

the ancestor of Modad and the Jorhamites, were themselves the sons of Heber. The Ishmaelite tribes, according to the unanimous sense of native authorities, confirmed by the whole tenor of Scripture testimony, rapidly gained ascendancy both in power and population. So much so, that, in the language of the Old Testament, as has been already noticed, the name of Ishmaelite became an equivalent for that of Arab; and the tongue of Kedar, for the language of Arabia. The early attainment of this ascendancy, we may now observe, appears to be intimately connected with a separate providential provision, to which we shall, in the next place, proceed: I mean, the influx into Arabia, at and after the time of Ishmael, of collateral branches of the posterity of Abraham.

The six sons of Abraham by Keturah his second wife, we are told in the book of Genesis, were dismissed by the patriarch "eastward into the east country."* They quickly sprang up into tribes and people. They dwelt beside the Ishmaelites; and so early did some of them blend into that elder settlement, that, in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis, we find the terms *Ishmaelite* and *Midianite*, in the age of Jacob, already interchangeable denominations of one and the same people.† The same national identity, under these two names, recurs in the book of Judges.‡ The descendants of Sheba and Dedan, the sons of Jokshan, are frequently adverted to by the prophets,§ under the names of Sabæans

* Gen. xxv. 6. So Arabia was termed by the Jews.

† "Hierosol. Paraphrast. Gen. xxxvii. 25. pro *Ismaëlitis* habet סרקיין *Saracenos*; neque id malè. Apparet enim ex versu 28., promiscuè usurpari *Ismaëlitas* et *Madianitas*, quos Chusæis accenseri probavimus ex Num. xii. et Hab. iii. 7. Itaque *Madianitas* et *Saracenos* Augustinus pro *iisdem* habet (in Num. ix. 21.) 'In his,' inquit, 'locis dicitur eos persequutus Israël, ubi *Madianitæ* habitant, qui nunc *Saraceni* appellantur.' Utut enim Chusæi, *Madianitæ*, *Ismaëlitæ* fuerint diversi generis, tamen promiscuè habitaverunt; et in unam *Saracenorum* nationem coaluerunt." Bochart. Phaleg. p. 213, 214.

‡ Judges, viii. 1. 24, &c.

§ Isaiah xxi. 13. xlv. 14. Jer. xxv. 23. xlix. 8. Ezek. xxiii. 42. xxv. 13. xxvii. 20. Joel iii. 8.

and Dedanim. But all these families appear to have eventually merged in the stock of Ishmael.

In a later age, Esau and his posterity poured a fresh, and still more formidable supply, of Abrahamic colonists into these parts. It is remarkable, that a promise was given to Esau concerning Edom, similar to that which had been given to Ishmael relative to his posterity.* Esau was to break his brother's yoke from off his neck. The Edomites, or Idumeans, accordingly, including the Amalekites and other off-sets from Esau, appear also to have blended into one people with the Ishmaelitish Arabs.† After various lesser accomplishments, the two predictions had thus a common grand fulfilment, in the union of these nations, under Mahomet, in arms against Judaism, Christianity, and mankind. The intercommunity of national names is undoubted. Strabo mentions the Nabatæans as the same people with the Idumæans‡: and we learn from Theophanes, and from an Arabic au-

* In this connection, it is a most interesting fact, that Esau should have married a daughter of Ishmael; and that, thereby, his race became incorporated with the stock of the Ishmaelitish Arabians. Compare Gen. xxviii. 9. xxxvi. As Esau had *his* covenant, corresponding in character with that of Ishmael; so both covenants eventually found their common fulfilment in Mahometanism. On the partnership of Esau in the covenant of Ishmael, the reader may consult Bp. Sherlock on Prophecy, pp. 116—122.

† In the eighty-third Psalm, there is mention made of a grand confederacy of all these Abrahamic tribes, in conjunction with the Philistines, the Phœnicians, and the Assyrians, for the utter extirpation of the Jews. The Psalmist specifies, as leagued together in this unholy conspiracy, “the tabernacles of the *Edomites* and the *Ishmaelites*; the *Moabites* and *Hagarenes*; *Gebal*, and *Ammon*, and *Amalek*; the Philistines, with them that dwell at Tyre. Assur also,” he adds, “is joined with them; and has holpen the children of Lot.” Ps. lxxxiii. 6—8. This Psalm is thought to have been composed in the reign of Jehoshaphat. See Calmet, Dict. of Bible.

‡ Τῆς δὲ Ἰουδαίας τα μὲν ἑσπερία ἀκρα τα πρὸς τῷ Κασίῳ κατεχούσιν Ἰδουμαῖοι, τε καὶ ἡ λιβνῆ. Ναβαταῖοι δ' εἰσιν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι. Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi. p. 1081, 1082.

thority translated by Mr. Ockley, that, on their first irruption into the empire, the *Saracens* were styled *Amalekites* by the Greeks.

The Ishmaelites more correctly so termed, occupied the entire of Arabia Petræa, or Nabatea, and parts also of Arabia Felix. But it is agreed on all hands, that Arabia Deserta, or Hejaz, was their primitive and proper seat. The Bedoweens who inhabit this wilderness, are allowed, by the universal consent of authorities, to be, above all the other tribes, the pure and genuine posterity of Ishmael: so that it is to the sons of Ishmael, in the strictest sense, the prophecy in Genesis is applicable, which so graphically depicts the erratic lives, and predatory habits, of his descendants. But over and above the Ishmaelites, who, as Calmet remarks, peopled the greatest part of Arabia; the sons of Abraham and Keturah, of Lot, and Esau, and some of Nahor's, dwelt in the same country, and extirpated part of the old inhabitants.

By this conflux of successive colonists, the old inhabitants must have been extirpated in no ordinary degree. To be heard of, as we afterwards hear of them in the Old Testament, as great and powerful nations, these colonies must have occupied Arabia, much in the same way that Palestine was occupied by the Israelites; by excision of the aborigines. But the point here to be remarked is, that the entire of the new settlers are found to have been of the seed, or the lineage, of Abraham. The fact is curious as it is undoubted. The reflecting reader, with the case fully before him, can hardly fail to be impressed by this far-removed, yet fixed and regular, convergence of circumstances, and concurrence of events, to make of Ishmael in truth "a great nation;" to fill the ranks of the Saracens, on every side, from the stock of Abraham; and to swell the destroying swarms of Mahometan Arabia, with so many and diverse nations of his kindred and blood.

On the subject of the descent from Ishmael, I would add one more internal mark of truth and authenticity, in the

national tradition of the Arabs. This descent was in all times serious matter of national pride. Yet none of the Arabians, be it observed, pretended to the distinction, excepting those who stood traditionally recognized as so descended. The circumstance is no slight voucher in support of the genuineness of the claim: since, where the pedigree was a point of so great honour and account in the eyes of the nation at large, had the tradition been at all a vague one, *all* the tribes would infallibly have set up, and put in their claims.

The foundation, certainty, and extent of the national pedigree of the Arabs, have been investigated so much at large in this critical essay, mainly with a view to the exposure of the idle doubts insinuated by the sceptic, and to the removal, from candid and impartial minds, even of momentary hesitation, on a genealogy, which, in fact, constitutes the basis of the present work, and which is essential to each step of the entire argument. This proof of the descent from Ishmael, therefore, is submitted for the consideration of the few who doubt; in the humble hope, at the same time, that it may contribute somewhat to the satisfaction of the many who believe. It may be satisfactory to the Christian reader, to know how completely this ground-work may be made good against the unbeliever: though, to his own mind, the authority of Scripture will be decisive and final.

The reader, then, will please to recollect, that, in the fundamental question of the descent of the Arab tribes from Ishmael, the sceptic alone can stand in need of the historical proof now laid before him. The argument of the work, so far as it rests on the alleged pedigree, must be recognized as valid by all believers in revealed religion; inasmuch as the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabians is substantiated by the unvarying testimony of the entire canon of the Old Testament. To the Christian, the foundation of this argument cannot, by possibility, be matter of question: he has only to see that facts be fairly stated, and inferences

fairly drawn, to warrant him in receiving the case as so far proved. Antecedently, therefore, to any proofs here advanced, if the matter-of-fact parallel be adequately made out, the rise of Mahometanism, including all the phenomena, will, on the principle laid down in these pages, stand sufficiently cleared and accounted for, to the whole Christian world.

No. II.

SCRIPTURAL INDICATIONS OF THE PATRIARCHAL ORIGIN
OF RELIGION AMONG THE ANTE-MAHOMETAN ARAB-
BIANS.

THE establishment of the descent of the chief Arab tribes from Ishmael, and from other members of the Abrahamic family, will suggest and sanction the further inference, that the *religion* which obtained in ante-Mahometan Arabia, however grossly corrupted and disfigured, must have emanated originally from the patriarchal revelation.

In the preceding number of the Appendix, this conclusion received incidental confirmation, both from Jewish history, and from Arabian tradition. It now remains, that we examine, how far it may be strengthened and illustrated, by evidence drawn from Scripture. For the scriptural intimations respecting the patriarchal faith of the ancient Arabs have been held purposely in reserve, until the question of their Abrahamic descent should have been cleared from the cavils and objections, with which it had been industriously embarrassed, by the arts of the sceptic.

In this dissertation, then, it shall be my object to trace the origin and primitive character of the belief of the ante-Mahometan Arabians, by the lights of Scripture history : a path of inquiry, in which the original connection with the faith of Abraham may be discerned, and the historical proof of this

connection may be carried down, from the age of Moses, to the advent of Christ.

On reference to the scriptural chronology, it appears, that, in the time of Moses, the Ishmaelites and Midianites, or the descendants of Abraham by Hagar and Keturah, had been already seated, for more than six hundred years, in Arabia : where, from the interchange of names observable when these nations are spoken of in the Pentateuch *, they seem, all along, to have dwelt together as one community. After his flight, from Egypt, into the desert, Moses married into the family of Jethro, the Midianite. But Jethro, he informs us, was also the *priest* of Midian. † And, as the faith professed by their priesthood will generally be found a pretty certain index to the national belief of any people, we are furnished, in the example of Jethro, with good means of learning the general state of religion, at the period when Moses wrote, among the Midianitish, or Ishmaelitish, Arabians.

Now, whoever will read, with common attention, the eighteenth chapter of Exodus, must perceive, that Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, and the priest of Midian, knew and worshipped the one true God ; even the same Jehovah whom Moses and the Israelites served. His familiar acquaintance with the being and nature of the God of Abraham appears from the whole manner of the sacred narrative. And the soundness of Jethro's faith seems established, by two decisive facts : first, that he was specially invited to advise and direct Moses, in his administration of the government over the chosen people, a trust committed, by Jehovah himself, to the Jewish lawgiver, as his peculiar care ; and, secondly, that he was further permitted to officiate publicly, in his sacerdotal character, within the camp of the Israelites, and to offer a burnt-offering and sacrifices before God, in presence of Moses, and Aaron, and all the elders of Israel. ‡

* See Gen. xxxvii. 25—36. ; and compare Judges, viii. 1—24. See also Bochart, Phaleg. pp. 213, 214. ; and Josephus, vol. i. p. 52. ed. Hudson.

† Exod. ii. 15, &c. iii. 1.

‡ Exod. xviii. 12.

These scriptural facts seem altogether irreconcilable with any conclusion but one; namely, that the religion professed by Jethro and the Midianites, was derived from the genuine patriarchal revelation, and still retained so far its primitive character, as to be, in substance, the same with the creed of Moses and the Israelites.*

In the scriptural account of Jethro, we have, then, an example of the existence of the patriarchal religion, to so late a period as the age of Moses, among the Abrahamic tribes which inhabited the Arabian desert.

We shall, in the next place, find that early example illustrated, on an enlarged scale, in the book of Job.

The remote antiquity of this sublime production is equally allowed, by the believer and by the sceptic.† The reality of the persons introduced into its dialogue has been ably and successfully argued, by several Scripture critics. And, by a train of the most conclusive reasoning, the era of the Arabian patriarch seems to be at length finally placed, either prior to, or, at the latest, contemporary with, the time of Moses.‡ Any lights, therefore, thrown, by this inspired

* This legitimate inference may be further corroborated, from the history of the Kenites and Rechabites; people subsequently noticed in the Old Testament, as the posterity of Jethro; to whose history we will come presently, in the order of time.

† "The divine attributes," observes Mr. Gibbon, speaking of the vaunted composition of the Koran, "exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language." *Decline and Fall*, vol. ix. p. 269.

‡ See, on this subject, the convincing argument of Archbishop Magee, in his work "On Atonement and Sacrifice." The simple fact of the existence, from so remote antiquity, of the book of Job, supplies a strong presumption in favour of the preservation of vestiges of the true religion in Arabia, to much later times. For it is most unlikely, that a narrative such as this, containing the story of a native Arab, should not have been largely known, and long recollected, in the popular traditions of the Bedoweens. But, so long as the Arabs preserved the book itself, or even a clear tradition of it, the patriarchal religion *could not* be lost among them.

book, upon the co-existing state of religion in the Arabian peninsula, may be received as safe and authoritative guides.

Let us now examine the nature and amount of the evidence furnished, on the present question, by the book of Job. The author of the book appears to have been an Edomite, or Idumæan Arab; and, consequently, of the posterity of Esau; although Mahometan writers make both Job and Jethro to be descendants of Ishmael.* The religion of the patriarch of Uz will admit of no dispute. The purity and perfectness of his belief are inscribed on every page, in every line we might rather say, of the history which records it. The case of Job, therefore, presents a further and independent example of an Arabian emir, descended from Abraham, and living in or near the age of Moses, who preserved, in its full and unalloyed integrity, the faith of his illustrious ancestor, the father of the faithful.

But the individual example of Job is only a first step in the proof, which the book at large contains, respecting the state of religion throughout Arabia, in his day. In the dialogue of this sacred drama, four interlocutors are introduced, members of as many distinct Arab tribes; who (and the fact is deserving of the most serious attention) all unite in acknowledging the one true God, — the same great Supreme, whom the pious patriarch himself acknowledged and adored. The conversation of Bildad, Zophar, Eliphaz, and Elihu, no less than that of Job, abounds with allusions to the creation, and to the revealed history, of the world. These dialogists discover a practical sense of a superintending Providence, of the presence and the ways of God among men. And they speak, moreover, on these mysterious subjects with an ease and fluency, which mark their familiar acquaintance with them.

Three, at least, of the speakers, were of the stock of Abraham. Bildad, the Shuhite, being descended from Keturah; Eliphaz, the Temanite, from Esau; and Elihu, the Buzite, from Nahor, the patriarch's brother.

* The Saracens were termed *Amalekites* by the Greeks. Cf. Theophanes, p. 276.

But the circumstance respecting them, which most peculiarly claims observation, is, that they all agree in confirming their arguments, by an appeal to the authority of ARABIAN TRADITION. "Eliphaz," says Bishop Sherlock, "tells Job, *they were no strangers to the ways of God; but had heard as much from their fathers, as Job had.*" The appeal of Bildad to the ancients, in support of his reasonings, is still more forcible and striking: "For inquire, I pray thee, *of the former age; and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers: Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart?*" *

Such being the tenor of their advice to Job, it can, therefore, be no secret, *whence* his friends derived their own knowledge, such as it was, of God, and of religion. It may be added, by the way, as a remarkable proof of the unchangeable permanency of Arabian customs and traditions, that *Mahomet* was reproached by the Koreish, for appealing, in like manner, to the authority of "the ancients," and drawing the materials of the Koran, from remote national traditions.

Now, whether the book of Job be, or be not, a real history, is a question which, for our purpose, comes to the same thing. For the persons unquestionably speak *in character*. And their conversation represents, if not the actual sentiments of individuals, certainly the popular notions and opinions prevalent among the tribes, to which the speakers purport severally to belong, upon the great subject of religious belief. But the evidence supplied by their collective discourses amounts to nothing short of a moral demonstration, of the patriarchal or Abrahamic origin † of those national notions and

* Job, viii. 8—10. cf. xv. 9, 10, 17, 18. — These references to traditional authority are exactly to the same effect, as those in the other Jewish Scriptures: so the Psalmist: —

I will open my mouth in a parable;

I will utter *dark sayings of old*;

Which we have heard and known;

And *our fathers have told us.* Ps. lxxviii. 2, 3.

† Cf. Michæelis, Not. et Epimetr. p. 181. ap. Abp. Magee, vol. ii. p. 58.

opinions : since, notwithstanding an intermixture of much imperfect theology, these discourses contain views of the nature of God, and of His providence and goodness, such as are not to be met with elsewhere, excepting in the page of Revelation.

The soundness of many of the principles laid down in these conversations is fully proved by the fact, that they have been copiously cited, both in the Old Testament, and in the New. The remark particularly applies to the first discourse of Eliphaz ; from which several noble passages are taken by Saint Paul, and by him employed to illustrate some of the profoundest moral truths of Christianity. Again, from the speech of Zophar, the Naamathite, the same Apostle has borrowed one of his sublimest passages,—the matchless expression of the mystery of divine love, which occurs at the close of the third chapter of his epistle to the Ephesians.

That their knowledge of the true belief was traditional, appears manifest from sundry expressions and allusions ; especially from one of Eliphaz, to man's apostasy and to the deluge * ; and from a distinct reference in a discourse of Zophar, to the same account, with that which Moses has given, of the creation of our first parent.†

On the whole, it appears, from this part of the canon of Scripture, that, down to the time of Moses, the religion of the Abrahamic family in Arabia still preserved unimpaired the proof of its patriarchal origin ; still rested on the same divinely-constructed foundation, with the faith of Abraham, their father.

As a poetical composition, the book of Job has been classed, by universal consent, with poems of the highest order. But it is still more remarkable for the depth of its theology, than for the sublimity of its thoughts and diction. This characteristic feature is peculiarly apparent, in the clear insight which it gives us into the circumstances and consequences of the Fall ; and in the lively anticipations which it contains

* Job, xxii. 15, 16.

† Job, xx. 4. cf. x. 8, 9.

of the Advent of that Redeemer, by whom those fatal consequences were to be one day overruled :—“ Oh !” exclaims the Arabian patriarch, “ that my words were now written ! oh, that they were printed in a book ! that they were graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock for ever ! For I know that my Redeemer liveth ; and that He shall stand, at the latter day, upon the earth !” *

With this prophetic confession of faith in the future Messiah, is coupled a vivid recognition of the great evangelical doctrine of the resurrection.† In both respects, the views disclosed in this wonderful book appear to surpass any revealed in the books of Moses. Insomuch, that, to use the words of Bishop Sherlock, “ we find *clearer knowledge of divine truth among the ancient Arabians*, than among the privileged descendants of Abraham ; and see a plain prophetic description of *the grand article of the Gospel* ‡, even before the giving of their own law.”

The moral evidence thus furnished by the book of Job, appears to be conclusive for the origin of his religion. The perfected faith of Abraham is there too legibly engraven, not to have sprung from Abraham.

The idea of a designed providential connection between the religion of the Jews, and that of the Abrahamic Arabians, may be strikingly illustrated, from the place occupied, by this inspired poem, in the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures. The fact is assuredly significant, that probably the most ancient portion of the Old Testament, certainly that containing some of the profoundest and most pregnant anticipations of the Messiah’s kingdom, should have been the production of an Idumæan Arab ; and should have been adopted, from the first, as an integral part of the volume of Jewish revelation.

But, when we descend to subsequent periods of Jewish

* Job, xix. 23—25.

† Job, xix. 26, 27.

‡ It is surely very remarkable, that the doctrine of a resurrection of the body should have been preserved in great vigour, in Arabia, to the time of Mahomet. The peculiarity of the doctrine gives great weight to this agreement with the book of Job.

history, we can trace the continued existence, in Arabia, of the patriarchal faith professed by Job and Jethro, in the scriptural notices of the *Kenites* and *Rechabites*, the lineal descendants of the father-in-law of Moses.

When Moses conducted his people, from the neighbourhood of Mount Horeb, to the borders of Canaan, he was attended on the march by a part of the Midianitish tribe, or family, of the *Kenites*, led by his brother-in-law Hobab *, who acted as his guides. After the Israelites had entered into possession of the land of promise, this Arab tribe of the *Kenites* took up their residence in the inheritance of Judah †; but without intermingling with the Jews, or conforming to their civil or religious usages. For it is on record, that the *Kenites* preserved their primitive manners; continued, like their Arabian ancestors, to dwell in tents; and (contrary alike to the precedent of the *Ishmaelites* and of the *Jews*) did not even practise the rite of circumcision. The religious belief of the *Kenites* or *Rechabites*, therefore, was clearly independent of Judaism. And there seems every likelihood, further, that it continued to be, in substance, the same which they had originally brought with them out of the Arabian desert.

Now the quality of this, their patriarchal faith, and its acceptableness in the sight of God, may be illustrated from sacred history, at distant intervals of time, on two memorable occasions.

1. In the reign of Jehu, we find Jehonadab, the son of Rechab; a distinguished chief of his tribe, specially chosen by the king of Israel, as “the witness of his zeal for the Lord,” and presiding, in conjunction with his sovereign, over the execution of the idolatrous priests of Baal.

2. In the age of the prophet Jeremiah, we meet the tribe of the *Rechabites* ‡; the posterity of this Jonadab, cha-

* Numb. x. 29—32.

† Judg. i. 16.

‡ The history of this nomade people is the subject of perhaps the most perfect model of an historical sermon in the English language; the discourse entitled “The History of the *Rechabites*,” by the late venerable Thomas

racterized, even in those deplorable days of apostasy and desolation, as a people eminent for piety and virtue. On which accounts, they were then selected by Jehovah, as their ancestor had been three hundred years before, for a standing witness against the far more highly-favoured, yet perverse and disobedient sons of Israel.

It is needless to enlarge on the valuable character of the

Townson, D.D. Rector of Malpas in Cheshire. This Sermon contains the best summary extant, of the scriptural notices of the Rechabites and Kenites. And, in consulting it for a critical purpose, the reader will scarcely fail to derive a high moral gratification. See Dr. Townson's Works, vol. ii.

The promise made to the house of the Rechabites in the time of Jeremiah, appears to be in operation to the present day. It has been stated by Mr. Wolff, the German missionary, in his Journal, that he found this erratic tribe still existing in Arabia, in the vicinity of Mount Horeb; that he subsequently fell in with one of their encampments, in the neighbourhood of Mecca; and that, although otherwise grossly ignorant, they still religiously abstain from wine, and continue to dwell in tents, — assigning as the reason of both observances, that it was so commanded them, by Jonadab their forefather. Mr. W. further mentions, that, to their faithful observance of the latter of those precepts, he was indebted for a most providential escape from the great earthquake at Aleppo. For, journeying thither, in company with the Rechabites, they refused to enter the city, but pitched their tents without the walls. Mr. Wolff remained with them. And during the night, a shock took place, which buried a great part of Aleppo, with some thousands of the inhabitants, in promiscuous ruin.

It were much to be wished, that an exact inquiry should be made, by our *British* residents in those parts, respecting the people here described. A more interesting subject of inquiry, it is not easy to conceive. According to the foregoing statement, while the house of Israel has wholly disappeared, and while the house of Judah has, for nearly eighteen hundred years, been dispersed abroad, as wanderers and outcasts, over every country of the known world, — the house of the Rechabites would appear to have remained undisturbed inhabitants of Arabia and Palestine, — a living witness against the disobedience of the chosen people, and a lasting memorial of that unchangeable word of the Lord, — “Jonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me FOR EVER!”

light, reflected upon the religion of Arabia in the days of Moses and Jethro, by the scriptural accounts just cited, respecting this insulated people. *

But, for proofs of the transmission to later times, of that patriarchal faith which *certainly* existed in Arabia in the Mosaic age, we ought to look, not without, but within, the peninsula.

And here, it might seem useless to expect light from Scripture, which touches little upon the history, and still less upon the religious belief, of the nations bordering on Palestine. It happens, however, that, in the instance of Arabia, Scripture has preserved two historical facts, very observable in themselves, and, on first view, apparently difficult of explanation; but which admit of being explained, in a perfectly satisfactory and consistent way, when once taken in connection with the earlier vestiges adduced above, of the patriarchal origin, and traditional preservation, of religion, among the ante-Mahometan Arabians. The former of those incidental facts is supplied by the Old, the latter by the New, Testament.

The earlier of the occurrences in question, is, the celebrated journey of the Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem; whither she went up "to hear the wisdom of Solomon." There has been some needless difference of opinion among the learned, about the country of this eastern princess. But, by a nearly unanimous consent, she has been rightly placed in the country of Yeman, the Arabia Felix of the classical writers. Her designation by our Lord, in the Gospel, as "the Queen of the South," had, in truth, determined the question of her native sphere of rule, long before it was agitated. For the inhabitants of Judæa invariably applied the phrase, "the South," as its proper name, when they spoke of that part of the Arabian peninsula, which lay to the southward of Pa-

* One important precept, common to the law of the Rechabites and to that of Mahomet, peculiarly claims attention; namely, the injunction to abstain from wine. The common origin of the reformation is discernible, in the corresponding prohibitions of the reformers.

lestine. The Queen of the South *, accordingly, is generally allowed to have reigned over the flourishing kingdom of Sheba, Saba, or Sabæa †; a region of the Happy Arabia, where, as foreign and native authorities agree in testifying, it was customary for women to inherit, and administer, the sovereign power. ‡

With reference to the scriptural account of her voyage to Jerusalem, however, *on any ordinary hypothesis*, the undertaking of this Arabian princess seems by no means easily accounted for. Suppose her, for example, to have been a heathen, wholly ignorant of the true God, and unacquainted, consequently, with the character of the wisdom of Solomon, or the inspiration from which it flowed, — and does it not appear most unlikely, that a female sovereign, living in a remote extremity of Arabia, should withdraw herself from the seat of government (always a critical step in eastern countries §); should abandon to others the care of her subjects; and should encounter, lastly, the hazards and hardships of a journey across the desert, — merely on learning the popular fame of the wisdom of the King of Israel, how-

* Her country will appear, on comparison of the scriptural account of her presents, with that given by Strabo of the produce of Sabæa: “And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store: — there came no more such abundance of spices, as the Queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon.” 1 Kings, x. 10. Compare App. i. p. 399. note (*).

† According to Patricides, the adopted country of Ishmael. Cf. Hott. H. O. p. 37.

‡ See Pocock. Spec. p. 60. “Saraceni ... mulieres aiunt in eos regnare.” Expos. totius mundi, p. 3. ap. Hudson, tom. iii. cf. Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 234. “Scilicet Reginam Austri, ad magnum Israëlitarum regem Salomonem venientem, ut sapientiam ejus audiret, non ex Meroë, quod ex Josepho contendit Grotius, sed ex Sabæa regione Arabiæ fuisse, facile summo viro Samueli Bocharto assentimur, recteque ei calculum alios viros doctissimos adjecisse concedimus.” Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. i. pp. 215, 216.

§ Particularly in Yeman, where the law, as reported by Agatharicides, was, that the sovereign must not leave the palace, — μη εἶναι ἐκ τῶν βασιλειῶν. Decline and Fall, ut supr.

ever great and wide-spread the report of that wisdom might be?

But, let the visit of the Queen of Sheba be regarded under another aspect, let it be taken in connection with the proofs already indicated, of the introduction and transmission of the religion of Abraham, through different channels, among the Arab tribes; and her undertaking will appear at once natural and explicable, to every sincere believer in Revelation; for, on this supposition, it has a just and adequate motive. Since, worshipping, though with fainter lights, and lower opportunities, the same Almighty God whom Solomon worshipped, — and qualified, therefore, to apprehend and appreciate the wisdom which flowed from Him, — this Queen of the South might well desire, at whatever cost, to improve herself in the knowledge of divine truth, at the feet of the King of Israel. In a word, grant the Sabæan princess, like so many of her countrymen, to have known and cherished the first principles of the patriarchal faith, and the reasonableness and likelihood of her voyage to Jerusalem are equally clear. But she *did* make the journey: and this simple fact, by strict parity of reasoning, implies, both her knowledge of the religion, and her worship of the God, of Abraham. *

And thus, from the case of the Queen of the South, may be drawn a double confirmation of our present argument: for, while the preceding evidences of the continuous existence of the patriarchal belief in Arabia, on the one hand, satisfactorily explains her extraordinary enterprize; on the

* The whole inferences deduced above, from the probabilities of the case abstractedly considered, are supported by the Scripture narrative; which expressly assigns a *religious* motive for the Queen's journey, and which affirms, by implication, her acquaintance with the true God: "And when the Queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon, *concerning the name of the Lord*, she came to prove him with hard questions. — And Solomon told her all her questions: there was not any thing hid from the King, which he told her not. And when the Queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom, — she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land, of thy acts, and of thy wisdom. — *Blessed be the Lord thy God*, which delighteth in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because *the Lord loved Israel for ever*, therefore made he thee king, to do judgment and justice." 1 Kings, x. 1—9.

other hand, her progress to Jerusalem supplies a fresh independent proof, that at least the *substance* of the patriarchal religion still subsisted in the peninsula, in her day.

To pass, at this point of the evidence, from the Old Testament, to the New: the Gospel history, it is deserving of special notice, records a parallel journey from Arabia to Jerusalem, on a similar errand: "Now, when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men * from the East, to Jerusalem, saying, Where is He that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him."

The native country of these wise men, or magi, has also been made the subject of learned discussion: although with little reason; excepting, indeed, as an agreeable exercise for the ingenuity of critical conjecture. For, in this memorable example, prophecy, and the general consent of Christian antiquity, combine with the geographical indications, and with the nature of the presents or offerings of these eastern sages, to fix their abode in Arabia.

David, in an express prediction of the advent of the Messiah, had foretold concerning it: "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents; the kings of *Sheba* and *Seba* (or Arabia and Saba) shall *offer gifts*:" and again, "Unto him shall be *given of the gold of Sheba* (or Arabia)." † Isaiah, when speaking of the coming in of the Gentiles to Christ, does so, by enlarging and perfecting this prediction of the royal Psalmist: "The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah: *all they from Sheba shall come; they shall bring gold and incense*; and they shall show forth the praises of the Lord. All the flocks of *Kedar* shall be gathered together unto thee; the rams of *Nebaioth* shall minister unto thee: they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory. — Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, *their silver and their gold with them*, unto the name of the Lord

* Gr. *μαγοι*.

† Ps. lxxii. 10. 15.

thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because he hath glorified thee."*

This prophecy of Isaiah is a manifest repetition and expansion of that in the seventy-second Psalm; and it still more specifically directs our attention to Arabia, and the posterity of Ishmael, for both the primary, and the eventual, fulfilment of both predictions. But let us examine some circumstances in them a little more nearly, in connection with the Gospel narrative of the journey of the wise men from the East.

Arabia Deserta, it will be observed, is constantly expressed, in the idiom of the Old Testament, by the appellation of "the East," or "the East Country." Arabia Felix, fertile in *gold*, is the native soil of *incense*. And thus, the leading marks of the two prophecies meet together in the Gospel accounts of the magi: for these wise men "came from the East to Jerusalem;" they came thither to worship "the King's Son," that is, the infant Messiah, the newly-born "King of the Jews;" "and, when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; GOLD, and FRANK-INCENSE, and MYRRH."†

The "magi" of the evangelists, are by the prophets entitled "kings;" and the designations are perfectly reconcileable, or rather consistent with one another. According to an ordinary acceptance of the title king, in the Old Testament, their *prophetical* designation was amply justified by the rank which, as the richness of their offerings bespeaks, they held, as Arabian *Emirs*; the only rank, indeed, among the Bedoweens, equivalent to that of king.

From what has been elsewhere remarked, respecting the wide-spread settlement of the Abrahamic family in the peninsula, the probability is obviously a high one, that these

* Isaiah, lx. 6—9.

† In the following passage of *S. Jerome* are happily united the Christian father and the Christian poet: — "Pulcherrime munerum sacramenta *Juvenecus* presbyter uno versiculo comprehendit:

Tus, aurum, myrrham: regique, hominique, Deoque
Dona ferunt."

Galland. Bibl. Vet. Patr. tom. iv. Proleg.

Arab chiefs were themselves of the race of Abraham. Epiphanius makes them descendants of the patriarch, by Keturah. But the main considerations in the Gospel narrative are, the confirmation which it gives to all the earlier tokens, of the continued existence, among the ancient Arabs, of vestiges of the true Abrahamic faith; and the providential connection which the fact there recorded serves to maintain, in the moment of our Lord's coming, between the respective families and covenants of Isaac and Ishmael. For here, in the persons of her wise men, we see Arabia, as had been foretold of her, coming in to the King Messiah as the first-fruits of the Gentiles; we see Ishmael, bowing down to Isaac, and bringing his lower covenant to pay homage and obeisance, at the feet of the Divine offspring and heir of the great covenant of promise. While this glad fulfilment of the prophecy of David, stands to us as a pledge and foretaste of the still more glorious accomplishment of the kindred prediction of Isaiah, which describes the tribes of Arabia, as ushering in the fulness of the Gentiles; and represents the general conversion of the seed of Ishmael, as among the last and greatest triumphs of the Gospel of Christ.

This scriptural view of the mission of these eastern sages, gives to the entire transaction a unity and consistency, every way becoming the majesty and wisdom of the Divine dealings; and which, upon any narrower hypothesis, might be sought after in vain. The extraordinary skill which the magi of the Gospel discovered, in the interpretation of the sign of the newly-risen star, may thus also be intelligibly accounted for. To unveil the mystery of this unparalleled phenomenon, the vain science of astrology*, so much in

* One most interesting application of this favourite Arabian science has been preserved by Selden. Speaking of the figures employed to personify the heavenly signs, he observes:—“*Vultus autem illi cœlestes non modo xlviii. constellationes globis depictas, verum innumeras et portentosas etiam illas figuras denotant, quæ Persæ, Indi, atque Ægyptii, cum unoquoque signi decano, seu quolibet decani gradu, ascendere tradebant:*

use among the Arabs, could have been intrinsically of no avail. But, without having recourse, in the first instance, for a solution of the case, to the extreme alternative of an immediate inspiration*, the traditional lights already shown to have been preserved in the great Arabian family, will alone enable us to explain the seeming difficulty.

From their connecting the appearance of an unknown star, with the idea of kingly power, it seems manifest, that the tradition of the prophecy of Balaam, a prophecy originally delivered in Arabia, still survived in the peninsula, and was familiar to the wise men in the Gospel. But, if we pre-suppose, as there is so much reason to pre-suppose, a traditional acquaintance, on the part of these sages, with the promises and faith of Abraham, this prediction of Balaam,

quarum in numero est illa, quam in primo *Virginis* decano sphaeræ Persicæ collocant; *Virgo nempe pulchra*, capillitio prolixæ, duas spicas manu gestans, residens in siliquastro, *educans puerulum, lactans et cibans eum*.

“Pro exemplo hanc magis attuli, quod non solum ALBOASAR decanum illum uti cæleste unici Salvatoris Jesu nativitatis symbolum notaverit MAHUMMEDANUS; verum etiam insignis ille mathematicus, et vir ultra sane quam seculum suum tulit doctus, Rogerus Bachonus, Oxoniensis et Minorita, *Alboasaris sententiam fuerit amplexus*. Opere enim tertio, quod ad Clementem Quartum dedit, Alboasaris verba, ab Hermanno Dalmata Latine ex Arabico facta, citat, subjungitque: *Intentio est, quod beata Virgo habet figuram et imaginem infra decem primos gradus Virginis, et quod nata fuit quando Sol est in Virgine, et ita habetur signatum in Calendario, et quod nutriet Filium suum Christum Jesum in terra Hebræorum*.” De Diis Syris. Op. tom. iii. pp. 282, 283.

It is impossible to avoid connecting with this specimen of Arabian astrology, the accommodation to the peculiar studies of the magi in the Gospel, observable in the notification of our Lord's advent to them by the appearance of “His star in the East;” which heavenly sign, moreover, “went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was.” The correspondence of the prophetic symbol with their national science might be illustrated from the fact, that, in eastern astrology, the *Vultus cælestes* indicated similar *Vultus hujus seculi*. But the author is obliged, for his own satisfaction, to refer the whole occurrence to the tradition of the prophecy of Balaam, and to the concurrence of the unknown star, with the general expectation then prevalent among the Arabs.

* Subsequently, they *did* receive a warning from heaven, in a dream. See St. Matt. ii. 12.

when once fulfilled, must, from the *sensible* character of the fulfilment, have become its own interpreter. For, trained, by the first elements of the patriarchal faith, in the expectation of some great deliverer, the appearance of a strange star in the heavens would naturally awaken recollections of the promised star of Jacob, and would, as naturally, lead their thoughts and steps toward Judea, wherein the prediction of Balaam fore-warned them it should one day arise and shine; while the prophetic mention of the *sceptre of Israel*, might further instruct them, to seek in Judea a *regal* deliverer, even Him, who was "born King of the Jews."

We will now, in conclusion, briefly recapitulate the steps of the argument. 1. In the history of Job and his friends, the religion of Abraham and the patriarchs is to be seen in extraordinary vigour in Arabia, about, or prior to, the age of Moses. 2. In the scriptural accounts of Jethro, and of his descendants, the Kenites and Rechabites, the independent existence and transmission of that patriarchal faith can be continuously traced, from the time of Moses, to that of Jeremiah: since this Arab race, though living in Judea, preserved its national manners and usages unchanged, and dwelt, from the date of its first settlement to that of the Babylonish captivity, in a state of civil and religious separation from the Jews. 3. In the reign of Solomon, an incidental corroboration of both preceding testimonies arises, from the heart of Arabia, in the voyage of the Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem, to hear the inspired wisdom of the king. 4. The origin and object of whose journey may seem, in the last place, significantly illustrated and explained by another, and similar journey of Arabian sages, the magi or wise men of Saint Matthew's Gospel, to hail the promised advent of "one greater than Solomon,"—to pay their prophetic worship, and present their predicted offerings, to the infant Messiah.

But, over and above the witness which the foregoing scriptural relations bear to the primitive existence, and constant preservation, among the ancient Arabians, of a

religion deriving from patriarchal times, and from the Abrahamic creed, * — the subject-matter of those relations may fairly be accepted as no inconsiderable proof of the existence, also, of a designed connection between the *covenants*, as well as between the *families*, of Isaac and Ishmael. Inasmuch as the book of Job was incorporated, from the beginning, into the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures; and the examples, of this Arabian patriarch, of the family of Jethro, and of the Queen of the South, are cited, both in the Old Testament and in the Gospel, for the special religious encouragement, or warning, of God's chosen people.

The force of these several testimonies, taken independently of each other, would, probably, be admitted by candid reasoners, as by no means inconsiderable. But it becomes, as all must allow, materially augmented, when viewed, as it ought to be viewed, in connection with other historical vouchers, previously adduced, in elucidation of the Abrahamic origin of the religious belief which obtained in ante-Mahometan Arabia: namely, the rite of circumcision, as nationally practised by the Arabs, in the time of Josephus, in commemoration of the circumcision of Ishmael, their father; the legible marks of patriarchal and Abrahamic traditions, engraven on the decorations, and embodied with the solemnities, of the Caaba; and the popular belief in the great doctrine of one God, still practically existing among the pagan tribes of the peninsula, in the time of Mahomet.

* “ Arabes necessariò de proto-parentis sui religione antiquitùs *proculdubio* aliquid inaudiverint, eaque illis innotuerit.” Hyde, *Hist. Vet. Relig. Pers.* p. 33. cf. p. 35.

No. III.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE SEVERAL APPLICATIONS OF THE PROPHECY, DAN. VIII. 9—25.

THE prediction in the book of Daniel, concerning the little horn of the he-goat, or Macedonian empire, has been successively applied to Antiochus Epiphanes, to the Romans, and to Mahomet or Mahometanism.* The ancients generally, and some eminent names among modern commentators, have understood this prophecy of Antiochus. His individual claims, however, to be the power here symbolized, seem satisfactorily disproved by those interpreters, who contend, with far stronger grounds of reason, for its application to the Romans. More recent writers on Prophecy conceive the little horn to be properly applicable to Mahometanism, and to Mahometanism alone.

In the second section of the present work, the author submitted his reasons for concurring in the last of these opinions. But, to avoid breaking the thread of the general argument, he there confined himself to an examination of the proofs, which seem to identify the Mahometan apostasy with the Macedonian, or Eastern, little-horn.

In adopting the interpretation first advanced by Mr. Whitaker, it is due, however, to the high authorities from which he is obliged to dissent, and it may, perhaps, contribute further confirmation to his own side of the question, briefly to discuss the *relative* merits of the views taken of this pro-

* The patriarch Sophronius saw, in the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens, the fulfilment of the prediction of Daniel, referred to by our Lord, St. Matt. xxiv. 15. See Ockley, v. i. p. 216. with his confirmative remarks, p. 223.

phesy: an inquiry which shall form the subject of the following remarks.

Of the three hypotheses above mentioned, each is attended by its difficulties. But the objections to the first, which makes Antiochus Epiphanes the little horn of the he-goat, appear to be insurmountable. And the arguments brought against this theory by Sir Isaac, and by Bishop, Newton, may be fairly pronounced conclusive; for the pretensions of Antiochus seem now generally given up.

By these eminent expositors, this part of Daniel's vision is transferred, from the Syrian tyrant, to his conquerors, the Romans. And, understood in its literal sense, it certainly presents a large and close affinity of character to pagan Rome. At the same time, this interpretation has difficulties on the face of it not to be concealed; and these very serious ones. 1. Bishop Newton and Sir Isaac agree in recognizing the little horn as the symbol of an *anti-christian* power.* But neither Antiochus, nor the Romans, were, properly, anti-christian powers; nor can they be termed types of Antichrist, in any other than a loose and figurative sense. However, therefore, they may have shadowed forth that power, they could not, either of them, *be* the power symbolized by the little horn. 2. Pagan Rome was not a portion of the Macedonian empire; and cannot be directly identified with a power, which the prophecy describes as coming forth out of that empire.† 3. Neither does it, in any just sense, answer the type of a *little* horn. On the contrary, at the period

* Saint Jerome has recorded this, as the judgment also of the ancients: "Hunc locum plerique nostrorum ad *Antichristum* referunt: et quod sub Antiocho in *typo* factum est, sub illo [*Antichristo*] in veritate dicunt esse complendum." Hieron. in locum. Col. 1106. Edit. Benedict. ap. Bp. Newton, Diss. xv. But modern Christian writers unite to designate Mahomet — *ipsum antichristum orientalem*.

† Especially as the Romans never made Macedon a seat of empire, but merely subdued, and incorporated it in the province of Greece. They never, consequently, appeared there in the character of a horn, or *kingdom*, of the subdivided Greek empire.

of its first irruption, through Macedon, into the East, the Roman power was a great and notable horn * ; and the attempts to prove it a little one, undertaken in support of a favourite hypothesis, are altogether gratuitous and puerile.† But, that the parallel should thus fail at the outset, — that there should be a want of correspondence with the symbol which is the groundwork of the prophecy, — is a first objection to the interpretation, little short of fatal.

The principal objections to understanding this prophecy of Mahometanism are, 1. that this apostasy had its rise without the confines of the empire of Alexander ; and, 2. that, unlike the Roman power which was contemporary with them, it did not spring up until nearly seven hundred years after the four notable horns of the vision, or the four kingdoms of the Macedonian empire, had ceased to exist as kingdoms.

To the former of these objections, it has been answered ‡, that the district of Arabia which gave birth to Mahomet has been reckoned, both by ancient and modern geographers, to form a part of the Greek empire, and of the Ptolemean

* “ Post Carthaginem, vinci *neminem* pudit.” Florus, l. ii. c. 7. Such is the true picture of the conquering majesty of Rome, at her first appearance on the theatre of the Macedonian empire. The spirit of hypothesis alone could identify a power like this, with the type of a *little* horn. In many respects, the resemblances to the prophecy are very strong ; but it seems vain to seek one here, — there is here *no* likeness.

† The learned Dr. Zouch, for example, contends that Rome answers the symbol, from the *weakness* of her power on her first appearance in the East. If there be any thing in the argument, the Roman power, as the little horn of the he-goat, must have been weak, in comparison with that of each of the four notable horns. And how was this relative weakness first manifested ? Immediately after the *conquest* of Macedonia, one of the four horns, a *message* from the Roman senate decided the fate of two of the remaining notable horns. Rome saved Egypt, and scared Syria, by a word ! It seems unaccountable how any interpreters could shut their eyes to the incongruity, between the power said to be symbolized, and the symbol. The fact would appear to be, that, misled by the other circumstantial agreements with the prophecy, the commentators would not, or could not, keep in mind the insurmountable nature of this first difficulty.

‡ Sect. ii. vol. i. pp. 176, 177.

kingdom of Egypt : while, even were this not so, Mahometanism would still stand on an equal footing with Rome ; — both powers having become alike engrafted on the empire of the he-goat, the one by the conquest of Macedon, and the other by the capture of Syria * ; — two of the four kingdoms of the dismembered he-goat. And, as there is no third claimant, the objection fairly falls to the ground.

To the second objection it has been replied †, that, however commentators have been misled into the supposition, the book of Daniel supplies no ground for inferring, that the existence of the four prophetic horns was to cease with the passing away of their kingdoms. Indeed, the sacred text suggests a directly opposite inference : for we are *not* told, on the one hand, that the four notable horns were broken ; and we *are* told, on the other hand, that three of the beasts in the preceding chapter, including the Macedonian leopard, with his *four heads*, being the same with the *four horns*, “ had their *dominion* taken away, yet their *LIVES* were prolonged for a season and a time.” ‡

The bodies of the beasts, then, may be conceived to represent the bodies, or geographical boundaries, of the primitive empires symbolized ; and the horns, to typify the various powers successively ruling over, or within, these bodies. Thus contemplated, the Macedonian empire, after its dominion has been taken away, still lives on, in the eye of prophecy, as the body of the he-goat. And the same pro-

* The Saracens effected in Syria, what the Romans did not effect in Macedon : they restored a kingdom there ; making Damascus the seat of their empire. In this capital, the dynasty of the Omniades flourished during eleven successive reigns : Cufa, their second imperial seat, was also situated in Syria : and Bagdad, the capital of the Abbasside dynasty, built at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, also stood within the kingdom of the Seleucidæ.

† Sect. ii. vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

‡ From comparison of Dan. vii. 11. and vii. 12. it would seem clear, that the lives of the other beasts were preserved *after the slaying and burning of the fourth beast*. The three were in fact geographically one : the Assyrian, the Persian, and the Macedonian monarchies in the East, being nearly conterminous.

longation of existence may, on similar ground, be extended from the body, to the four notable horns, or kingdoms, of the he-goat; out of one of which, the little horn of the vision was to spring up. For the four horns, as exercising dominion over the four quarters of the body, may rightly be understood to represent the whole body of the goat, or the permanently surviving carcase of the Macedonian empire. Now, not only has Daniel omitted to mention that these horns were broken, but, by his silence, he leads us to infer that they were not broken; since of the two other horns noticed in this prophecy, he has positively stated, that the first great horn was broken, and that the little horn shall be broken.* The distinction thus indicated, is accurately preserved in the context. In the eighth verse we read: "The great horn was broken; and *for* (i. e. *in place of*) it, came up four notable horns." No mention is made of these horns being broken; and, accordingly, in the ninth verse, we are told: "And *out of* one of them (i. e. not, instead of, but branching up from, one of them) came forth a little horn."

But the symbols themselves permanently existing, it was evidently matter of no moment, at what period the power symbolized by the little horn should arise. Mahometanism, in the seventh century of the Christian era, as aptly complies with the chronology of the prediction, as Antiochus Epiphanes himself, or as Rome in his days.

The apparent difficulties objected to this application of it once removed, in every other respect, the type of the little horn of the he-goat will be found to agree with the Mahometan apostasy, uniformly well, and often far more appro-

* "But he shall be broken without hand." Dan. viii. 25. "Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image.—And the stone, that smote the image, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." Dan. ii. 34, 35. The same consummation is predicted in both prophecies. May we not infer, that the little horn, or king of fierce countenance, which shall be broken without hand, is to be broken by the stone cut out without hands? This similarity of expression apparently marks the unity of the predictions.

proportionately than with pagan Rome. The littleness of its beginnings; the rapidity of its growth, and the vastness of its expansion, in the directions foretold; the genuineness of its anti-christian character; the clearness of its correspondence with the terms employed throughout the prophecy, which are chiefly borrowed from the Jewish ritual, and manifestly designed to describe a spiritual tyranny; the strong resemblance, lastly, between the prophetic descriptions of the two little horns*, coupled with the no less perfect similarity, in fact, subsisting between Mahometanism and the papacy;—these features together, identify the Mahometan apostasy with the power of the eastern little horn, at once with a minuteness and a comprehensiveness, which, in any application of the type to the Romans, would be sought after in vain.

If to this comparative estimate of the pretensions of pagan Rome, and of those of Mahometanism, to be the power typified by the little horn of the he-goat, an observation or two be added, on the chronology of the whole vision, Dan. viii., and on the marks which it apparently contains of time and continuance—it is hoped that enough may have been done to justify the interpretation of that prophecy, adopted in the second section of this work.

With respect to the time specified in the vision, it is

* Dr. Zouch has ably argued the appropriateness of the symbol of a little horn, Dan. vii., in its application to the pope: “The little horn, which arose after, or behind, the other horns (that is, in a *secret and unperceived* manner, the other sovereigns of the earth not discovering the exercise of his dominion until he became superior to them,) aptly delineates the person of the pope, who, in his beginning *feeble and unimportant*, acquired by degrees an uncontrolled authority. His power was diverse from the others, displaying itself in a manner totally unknown before, by assuming a *spiritual, as well as temporal, jurisdiction over the affairs of men*.” Zouch on Dan. vii. 8. Drop the name of the pope from this context; and so appropriate is the description to both little horns, that it would seem impossible to determine, whether the passage was written as a comment on Dan. vii. 8., or on Dan. viii. 9.: a fresh proof of the designed parallel between these predictions.

almost needless to expose the inconsistency of attempting, as some few commentators have attempted, to explain the "days" of Daniel, as natural days. The notion is refuted on every side, both by the chronology of Daniel's other visions, and by the corresponding period of Saint John, in the Apocalypse; and it owed its origin, too obviously, to the determination of certain expositors, to fit the prophecy to the person of Antiochus, and restrict it to his persecution. An end which, after all, the expedient wholly fails to answer.

Concluding, therefore, with the general consent of interpreters, the "days" of Daniel's prophecies to be days of years, we will try, by the chronology of the vision at large, our application of the type of the little horn.

Daniel, viii. 3—14. contains the vision: which very fully portrays the distinct, and successive powers, of the ram, the he-goat, the four notable horns, and the little horn. It is particularly observable in this vision, that the description of the little horn, or the power last named, is much fuller than those of the preceding powers; and that the description further contains indications, that this horn, like the little horn mentioned in the seventh chapter, was to be a power diverse from its predecessors. The entire period of the vision, it appears, was to be two thousand and three hundred prophetic days.

When the prophet had seen the vision, he sought to know the meaning. Gabriel is commanded to interpret it. The angel begins with the chronology; and informs Daniel, that "*the vision shall be at the time of the end.*" The time of the end, therefore, includes the whole period of the vision, or two thousand and three hundred days. As Gabriel proceeds with the interpretation, there occurs a further limitation of "the time of the end:" "And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in *the last end* of the indignation." This fresh limit in point of time, taken in connection with the marked distinctness of the concluding prophecy of the vision, from the other parts, appears to intimate, that the interpretation itself was mainly to relate to *the latter part of*

the vision; in other words, to the prophecy of the little horn.

Daniel, viii. 20—25. contains the interpretation; which accurately tallies with the previous intimation alluded to, of a further limit being placed on the entire period of the vision, or “the time of the end.”

“The *last* end of the indignation,” is what the angelic interpreter professes to make known; and, accordingly, the *last* prophecy of the vision is that which the interpretation, in fact, enlarges on in its details. V. 20., the kingdom of the Medes and Persians is barely mentioned and dismissed; v. 21., the empire of Alexander, and v. 22., the four kingdoms of his successors experience the same slight and cursory notice. And their introduction into the interpretation has all the air of being merely prefatory to the full explanation of the remaining symbol, the little horn; a full and minute delineation of which, under the character of “a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences,” occupies the sequel of the interpretation, from the twenty-second verse, to the twenty-sixth. Whence we may legitimately infer, that “the last end of the indignation,” the period which the angel undertakes to “make known,” synchronizes with the power of the little horn, and is designed to mark out *its* appointed term.

But dating, as justice to the order and completeness of its predictions should lead us to date, the commencement of the vision, somewhere during the time of its earliest symbol the ram; during the existence, that is, of the Persian empire; we are conducted, for *the first rise* of the power of the little horn, to a time *certainly* posterior, both to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to the Romans in the age of Vespasian,—or the final destruction of Jerusalem. For when, from the entire period of the vision, that is, from “the time of the end,” or the two thousand three hundred prophetic days, we deduct the included period of “the last end of the indignation,” or the twelve hundred and sixty prophetic days, the complement will be a thousand and forty prophetic days, or natural

years. Now, to compute from the earliest date allowed of by the limits of the vision, if we reckon the two thousand and three hundred years of Daniel to commence at the first erection, by Cyrus, of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, the computation will place their commencement only so far back, as the year before Christ five hundred and thirty-eight. But one thousand and forty years, being the complement of the whole period after deducting twelve hundred and sixty years, on this calculation brings us at once down to the year of our Lord five hundred and two, for the date of the rise of the little horn; that is to say, not only to a period long subsequent to the supposed fulfilment of this last prophecy by the Romans, but even to the time when the Roman empire had become Christian.

Such will be the result, if we are to throw back the commencement of the two thousand and three hundred days to the earliest admissible period, the foundation of the Persian empire. Commentators are, however, agreed that there is a latitude of choice open to us, for the fixing of this date; which the purport of the vision only requires to be placed some time during the existence of the ram, or of the empire of Cyrus. The choice of the time of commencement will depend, therefore, on collateral circumstances.

For these circumstances, we may turn to the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Daniel; which Sir Isaac Newton has pronounced to be a commentary on the prophecy of the little horn. Now, Dan. xi. 40. appears to fix the beginning of this last-named period,—for it is there stated, that, “at the time of the end, shall the King of the South push at him;” and its progress, for it is added, “and the King of the North shall come against him like a whirlwind;” and Dan. xii. 6, 7. seems to specify its whole duration, and its close, for there we read, “the end of these wonders shall be for *a time, times, and an half*; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.”

But we have already remarked * that both Sir Isaac and

* Sect. i.

Bishop Newton interpret the predictions concerning the Kings of the South and North, of the Saracens and Turks. And the author only follows up *their* premises, in understanding the prophecy of the little horn, on which these predictions are a comment, of Mahometanism.

It only remains to be examined, how far the rise of the Mahometan apostasy accords with the chronology of the vision in the eighth chapter. Mahometanism arose in the seventh century of the Christian era : a date most remarkable, in a variety of aspects. It coincides exactly with the rise of a parallel prophetic symbol, the little horn of the ten kingdoms, or the apostasy of papal Rome. If we compute backward a thousand and forty years, it places us in the flourishing era of the Persian empire. If we reckon forward twelve hundred and sixty years, the computation synchronizes with a cognate prophetic period, with that assigned for the duration of the former, or western, little horn : while it is sustained by the whole parallel characters and history of Popery and Mahometanism.

To sum up the preceding remarks in a few words. The chronology, which, on any computation, appears to exclude the Romans * from ranking, at least in its principal sense, as the power predicted by the type of the little horn, is, on the contrary, found accurately to tally with the rise and progress of Islamism. The internal evidence of this prophecy unites with wholly undesigned testimonies, furnished by

* The inadequacy of this interpretation needs nothing more for its exposure, than a little reflection on the expedients to which Bp. Newton is driven, in order to make out a case at all. First, *pagan* Rome is made the little horn of the he-goat, as a type of antichrist, and in virtue of its having become, by the conquest of Macedon, a member of the Greek empire. Then, we have *papal* Rome, as *eastern* antichrist, succeeding to it, in the character of the *Macedonian* little horn, — which had *no* connection whatever with the East, or with Macedon. The interpreter essays to slide from the one ground to the other; wholly unconscious that the brittle support of his argument is gone from under him. The transition is necessarily resorted to, in order to eke out the prophetic period.

leading interpreters, to identify that spiritual tyranny with the prophetic type. Its past correspondence with a kindred tyranny, also foretold under a like symbol, strengthens the application. And the symptoms of coincidence, in the approaching fall of both powers symbolized, seem to corroborate, in the way most to be desired, this sense of the prophecy.

It may be noticed, as additionally supporting this view of Dan. viii. 9—25., or the prophecy of the little horn of the he-goat, that the conclusion respecting it, first broached by Mr. Whitaker, has been arrived at, in these remarks, and in the section to which they are appended, by a wholly different mode of proof.

In thus regarding the Mahometan tyranny, as the power eminently prefigured by the type of the Macedonian little horn, it is far from the author's intention to infer, that it is the power exclusively prefigured. The fundamental rule of a germinant interpretation will authorize and suggest a far broader conclusion. The belief of the ancient church, both Jewish and Christian, that this prediction has relation to Antiochus *, and of so many Christian expositors, that it belongs to the Romans, may, in this more comprehensive aspect of prophecy, not be destitute of foundation. And that germinant character of the prophetic Scriptures, so strikingly exemplified in the grand prediction, St. Matth. xxiv., which includes, in one view, the impending fall of Jerusalem, and the most distant fortunes of the church of Christ, will admit of the successive application, in degrees less and more perfect, of the prediction here in question, to Antiochus, to pagan Rome, and to Mahometanism.

* For the belief of the Jewish church, Bp. Newton and others have cited the testimony of Josephus, l. x. c. xi. § 7. It is surprising that interpreters should not have more strongly noticed the clear reference of this prophecy to Antiochus Epiphanes, by the author of the first book of Maccabees. See 1. Maccab. i. passim. The allusions in vv. 10. and 30. are peculiarly marked. It seems not to be doubted that the writer had Dan. viii. 9—25. in his eye.

The following tabular exhibition may enable the reader to draw his own conclusions, as to the intrinsic, and the relative, appropriateness of the three interpretations : —

DANIEL, VIII.	ANTIOCHUS EP.	ROMANS.	MAHOMETANISM.
9. And out of one of them (the four notable horns) came forth a little horn,	[Did <i>not</i> so come forth ; but was himself one of the four notable horns.]	Can be said to have so come forth, only in virtue of their conquest of Macedon.	Did so come forth, both by its rise in the Hejaz, and by its early conquest of Syria.
which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.	[Not so : he scarcely made any conquests ; and became, in the end, exceeding little.]	Waxed exceeding great, in the geographical directions of the prophecy.	Waxed exceeding great, in the geographical directions of the prophecy.
10. And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven ; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.	So waxed great, by persecution of the Jewish priesthood, and of "the holy people."	So waxed great, by the utter destruction of the holy city, temple, priesthood, and people, of the Jews.	So waxed great, by the destruction of Christian churches, and persecution of Christian priesthood and people.
11. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host ; and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away ; and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.	So magnified himself, by sacrilege, and impious insults of Jehovah. So literally took away the Jewish sacrifices.	So magnified themselves, by the judgment and crucifixion of our Lord. So literally took away the Jewish sacrifices. Fulfilled by, in the final destruction of the temple.	So magnified itself, by making Mahomet a greater prophet than Christ. So figuratively, by the destruction of Christian altars. Fulfilled by, in unparalleled destruction of Christian temples.
12. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression,			Fulfilled by substitution of Mahometan, for Christian, priesthood, — of the host of the little horn, for "the host of heaven ;" by reason of sins of eastern church.
and it cast down the truth to the ground ;			Fulfilled, by proselyting and persecuting zeal of the whole Mussulman priesthood and people ; and, by prosperity of religion keeping pace with that of empire.
and it practised and prospered.			

DANIEL, VIII.	ANTIOCHUS EP.	ROMANS.	MAHOMETANISM.
23. A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up, — in the latter time of their kingdom.	A king of fierce countenance in acts.	A republic. “A nation * of fierce countenance” Deut. xxviii. 50. Augury their fa- vourite study.	A kingdom of fierce countenance, as a <i>destroying</i> apostasy. So Mahomet, as author of the Koran, and pretended interpreter of the mysteries of futurity. So stood up, but at a much later period.
24. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power :		So stood up, with great chronological exactness. [Not applicable to : they fought their own way, from the possession of one city, to the empire of the world.]	Eminently applies to : for it prevailed by the power of the host given to its king : i. e. through the spirit of fanaticism which infected all the conquered nations.
and he shall destroy wonderfully,	[Destroyed ; but partially.]	So destroyed, temporarily.	So destroyed, temporarily and spiritually.
and shall prosper and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people.	[Not fulfilled in,] [Persecuted, but failed to destroy.]	Did prosper and practise. Destroyed the polity and nation of the Jews.	Did prosper and practise. Destroyed the polity of eastern, and wasted universal Christendom.
25. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand ; and he shall magnify himself in his heart ; and by peace shall destroy many :	[Remarkable enough for low cunning ; but did not prosper by his schemes.] [So most eastern despots.]	Remarkable for political skill ; and for the fruits reaped by their policy.	Its treaties only for truces, to be broken when advantageous to infringe them.
he shall stand up also against the Prince of princes ; but he shall be broken without hand.	Subdued by a message from the Roman senate.	In combats of gladiators. Stood up against, and crucified our Lord. [Not broken without hand, but by the strong hand of the barbarians of the North.]	In times of peace, remarkable for the fatal success of its schemes for perversion of Christians. Crucified the son of God afresh, in its character as an antichristian apostasy. Its time not yet accomplished ; manner of end, consequently, unknown.

* “A nation,” not a king. The distinction should be attended to ; for the language of Scripture, even in its most mysterious prophecies, is always minutely accurate. So Dan. ix. 26. “And the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary :” con-

In this table, the evidences for the fulfilment of the prophecy by Antiochus, and by the Romans *, are taken from the standard commentators: for the marks of its fulfilment by Mahometanism, the author is himself partly responsible. It is left with others to decide, which of the three powers appears to supply the fullest accomplishment.

formably with the very letter of this prediction, history records that Titus used the greatest efforts to save the temple; but the infuriated soldiery fired it before his eyes, regardless of threats and intreaties.

* Each attempt of the commentators to appropriate this prediction to pagan Rome, seems worded, as it were, to establish its proper application to Mahometanism. To reconcile it to the Romans, Bishop Newton observes: " Their actions within the dominions of the goat, and not their affairs in the western empire, are the principal subject of this prophecy. But their actions, which are most largely and particularly specified, are their great persecution and oppression of the people of God: which renders it probable, that the appellation of *the little horn* might be given them *for the same reason*, that the great persecutor and oppressor of the saints in the western empire is also called *the little horn*. IT IS THE SAME KIND OF POWER, AND THEREFORE MIGHT BE SIGNIFIED BY THE SAME NAME." Diss. xv.

The similarity of the two symbols naturally implies the similarity of the two powers symbolized: —but how constrained and imperfect the Bishop's parallel, as applied to pagan Rome and popery? while, on the other hand, transfer but the application to popery and Islamism, and the parallel is full, natural, and perfect. They are truly and indeed "the same kind of power, and therefore might be signified by the same name,"

No. IV.

PROOFS OF THE IDENTITY OF THE CRUSADES WITH DANIEL'S "TIDINGS OUT OF THE NORTH."

IN the passage of the present work (Vol. I. pp. 202—204.), which the following observations are designed to illustrate, the crusades have been indicated as the prophetic "tidings out of the North," spoken of by Daniel, xi. 44., which should trouble, or impede, "the king of the North:" that is, which should arrest, for a season, the victorious career of the Turkish power.

The evidences, both geographical and historical, which support this interpretation, and which might have been out of place in the body of the work, are too important, and too interesting, to be omitted in the Appendix. A short review of these evidences shall form, therefore, its concluding Number.

1. To begin with the geographical proofs: Europe, as situated to the *north-west* of Asia, may be taken, in a general sense, to answer the prophetic description of "the North." But, added to the geographical position of the continent at large, there arises, in the next place, the further consideration, that the crusading armies were chiefly levied in the *north*, or *north-west*, of Europe: Germany, England, the Netherlands, and the north of France, may be said to have furnished the main strength and flower of those armies, from

the age of Godfrey of Bouillon to that of our first Edward. And, as it was from the northward that the main battle of the crusaders began its march, so, from a north-western direction, that march conducted it across the European continent and the Danube, into Illyricum and Thrace, countries even then overrun by the Turks*, and which now compose *the north of modern Turkey*.

Again, on passing into Asia, the Latin powers made their entrance through the *northern*, or *north-western*, frontier of the Turkish kingdom of Roum; and advancing thence, traversed Asia Minor from the northward, towards the goal of their great enterprize, Syria and the Holy Land.

And thus, in whatever aspect we contemplate the crusades, whether as to the countries whence they chiefly emanated, or the directions which they commonly took, the *geography* of these vast expeditions will still be found most accurately to correspond with the words of Daniel's prophecy: — "And tidings *out of the North* shall trouble him."

2. But a not less perfect fulfilment of this prediction is to be found in the *history* of the holy wars; or rather in that of the previous colonization and settlement of Europe.

During a course of centuries preceding the crusades, Europe had been inundated by the ceaseless stream of barbarian emigration from the regions of the North. By the incessant influx, both continent and islands were first depopulated, and then re-peopled. And while, by land, the Vandals, the Goths, the Visigoths, the Huns, the Heruli, and the Franks, converted the European continent into one great northern colony†; by sea, the Saxons, and the Danes,

* See Vol. II. p. 149.

† "Des débris de l'empire Romain d'Occident, s'étaient formées, sur le sol de l'Europe, une foule de dominations, à la tête desquelles étaient, pour la plupart, *les chefs de ces peuplades du Nord*, qui avaient renversé l'empire." M. C. Villers, *Essai sur la Réform. de Luth.* p. 42. A Paris, 1820. "*Les peuples du Nord*, comme les Saxons, les Suisses, les Hollandais, les Anglais," &c. *Ib.* p. 122.

poured into the islands in numbers sufficient to sweep away, and to replace, the ancient inhabitants.

So far as respected the character and origin of its population, therefore, any movement from our quarter of the globe might, as early as the commencement of the ninth century, be appropriately indicated in prophecy as "tidings out of the North." For, in the language of prophecy, change of seat by no means implied a change of national designation. Accordingly, in the same prophet Daniel, we find the Turkish power, long subsequent to its establishment in the lesser Asia, *retaining* its primitive appellation of "The King of the North."

But, towards the middle of the ninth century, there began a new northern emigration, which quickly overspread the European coasts and islands; which extended its ravages to the remotest extremities of the West*; but which erected, within the space of little more than one hundred years, potent monarchies and principalities, in the north, and south, and east of Europe. Too well known by their heroic deeds, it is almost needless to name the NORMANS; were it not that their *name* immediately connects them with the terms of Daniel's prediction; as do their chivalrous actions, with the whole history of the crusades.†

Nursed in the arms of victory, animated by the spirit of successful adventure, and impelled by devoted fidelity to the service of the church, this race of conquerors, at that time but recently emerged "from the snows of Scandinavia," flew

* See Vol. II. p. 194.

† "The *powerful succour*," says Mr. Gibbon, speaking of the third crusade, "of Flanders, Frise, and Denmark, filled near a hundred vessels; and the *northern warriors* were distinguished in the field by a lofty stature, and a ponderous battle-axe." Decline and Fall, vol. xi. ch. lix. p. 142. The historian verifies his text, by the following striking testimony of an anonymous chronicler: "*Northmanni et Gothi, et cæteri populi insularum, quæ inter occidentem et septentrionem sitæ sunt, gentes bellicosæ, corporis proceri, mortis intrepidæ, bipennibus armatæ, navibus rotundis, quæ Ysnachiæ dicuntur, advectæ.*"

to arms from all quarters, at the first summons of the Roman Pontiff, to form the van-guard of the first, as they composed the flower of each succeeding, crusade. Carrying into the East, in their very name, the interpretation of "tidings out of the North," the Normans of Italy and Sicily, of France and of England, early acquired, and throughout maintained, the pre-eminence among the champions of the holy wars. The achievements of Tancred, of Bohemond *, of Robert Duke of Normandy, and last and greatest, the unrivalled deeds of Richard Cœur de Lion, identify, not only by the testimony of their friends, but by the confession of their terrified enemies, the prowess of the Norman crusaders, with the tidings out of the North, which should trouble the King of the North.†

* "It is in the person of this *Norman* chief, that we may seek for the coolest policy and ambition, with a small alloy of religious fanaticism. His conduct may justify a belief, *that he had secretly directed the design of the pope*, which he affected to second with astonishment and zeal: at the siege of Amalphi, *his example and discourse inflamed the passions of a confederate army*; he instantly tore his garment to supply crosses for the numerous candidates; and prepared to visit Constantinople and Asia, at the head of ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot." Decline and Fall, vol. xi. p. 35.

† The terror, flight, and miserable end of Bagi Seian, the *Seljukian* prince of Antioch, who, on the approach of the crusaders, fell literally a victim to his own fears, — as described by Abulfeda, — form a wonderful commentary on this prediction of Daniel. "Anno cccxcxi, [qui die 8. Dec. A. C. 1097 cœpit] commemoranda venit Francorum in Syriam invasio, per quam, inter ceteras ejus urbes, præcipuam ceperant Antiochiam. — Quæ oppressio Bagi Seianum, Turcomanum, ejus urbis tum dominum, — adeo terrebat, ut inops consilii trepidusque [Arab. هاربا

مرعوبا] quasi rebus jam conclamatis, de nocte aufugeret. Altero autem mane, sibi jam redditus, discusso terrore, singulaque secum per otium reputans, deplorabat miseram sortem [Arab. يتلهف i. e. لهفي] vae mihi / dixit] liberorum suorum, et familiæ, et Muslemorum; quos in urbe relictos hosti permiserat. Quæ tristes recordatio tanta eum percellerat doloris vehementia, ut animo delinquens equo decideret. Fugæ quidem comites eum allevare tentabant in equum; sed viribus omnino exsolutus inherere jumento non valebat: quapropter eum, sibi consulentes, prostratum relin-

In support of this application of the prophecy, it may be stated, respecting the first crusade, that the passage for the army of Godfrey through the Lesser Asia (the seat of the Turkish power) was *first* opened by the sword of *Tancred*, and by his capture of the fortified cities of Tarsus and Malmistra; that the iron bridge over the Orontes, the natural defence of Antioch, was forced by *Robert Duke of Normandy*, whose success unbarred for the crusaders the single avenue of admission; that the French and *Norman* princes headed the nocturnal assault, and *first* mounted the walls of the metropolis of Syria; and that, in the moment of final triumph, the standard of the cross was *first* planted on the walls of Jerusalem itself, by the arm of the heroic *TANCRED*.

The details of these striking facts, the author prefers submitting in the words of Mr. Gibbon, rather than in his own. On the field of Dorylæum, “the fainting fight,” says the historian of the empire, “was sustained by the personal valour of Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Normandy.—The Norman standard was first planted on the walls of Tarsus and Malmistra.—The capital of Syria was protected by the river Orontes; and the *iron bridge*, of nine arches, derives its name from the massy gates of the two towers, which are constructed at either end. They were opened by the sword of the Duke of Normandy: his victory gave entrance to three hundred thousand crusaders.—The nocturnal surprise (of Antioch) was executed by the French and Norman princes, who ascended in person the scaling ladders that were thrown from the walls.—In the pillage of public and private wealth (which ensued on the sack of Jerusalem), the adventurers had agreed to respect the exclusive property of *the first occupant*; and the spoils of the great mosque, seventy lamps, and massy vessels, of gold and silver, re-

quebant. Itaque jacenti Bagi Seiano, et animam agenti, amputabat prætereuns aliquis Armenus lignator caput, et ad Francos Antiochiam deferibat. *Annal. Muslem.* tom. iii. pp. 314—317. edit. Reisk.

* Decline and Fall, ch. lix.

warded the diligence, and displayed the generosity, of Tancred." *

A more important prize, the principality of Antioch, fell to the share of the interested and ambitious Bohemond. — Founded by the address of this politic chieftain, and maintained by his own valour, and that of his kinsman the Marquis of Montserrat, the *Norman* principality of Antioch became, indeed, "a bit in the mouth, and a hook in the nostrils," of the prophetic horsemen of the Apocalypse : it was immediately by *this* Latin power, that the Turks were held again, bound within the line of the Euphrates, during a period of one hundred and seventy years : an historical fact, which, in a permanent and peculiar sense, appropriates to the *Normans* a leading part in the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy, "and tidings out of the North shall trouble him." †

The rank in the Christian host allotted, by the judgment of the Turks and Saracens themselves, to the prince of Antioch, supplies no inconsiderable confirmation of this view. "In the caliph Mostali's estimate of their merit, or their power," Mr. Gibbon tells us, "*the first place* was assigned to *Bohemond*, and the second to Godfrey."

"And tidings out of the North shall trouble him. ‡" We

* Decline and Fall, ch. lix.

† For the sore thorn in their side which the Christian state at Antioch proved to the Turks, compare Abulfeda, ut supr. tom. iii. pp. 370—373. 386, 387.

‡ The annals of Abulfeda are copious upon the similar trouble experienced by the Turkish powers from the prophetic "tidings out of the East," or the irruption of the Tartars. See Abulfeda, tom. iv, v. passim ; but especially iv. p. 296, 297., where the sufferings of the Mussulmans from the Moguls are represented as far surpassing those of the Jews, under the rod of Nebuchadnezzar. Tom. iv. p. 474, 475., we find a mention of the singular alliance, alluded to by Gibbon, between the Tartars and the Franks, for the deliverance of Jerusalem. And tom. ii. p. 202, 203., the Tartars are distinctly stated to have been the *destroyers* of the Turkish kingdom of Roum.

May the author be permitted to add, that he was himself first led to understand Dan. xi. 44. of the crusades, and the Tartar irruptions, by the

will close this number of the Appendix in the words of the same historian, and with a convincing proof of the fulfilment of the *trouble* predicted by the prophecy, in the crusades : “ After the loss of Jerusalem, the Syrian fugitives diffused their *consternation* and *sorrow* : Bagdad mourned in the dust ; the Cadhi Zeineddin of Damascus tore his beard in the caliph’s presence ; and the whole divan shed tears at his melancholy tale.” *

principle, that Providence is the best interpreter of prophecy ? (See Vol. I. p. 171. note *.) On subsequent examination, he found the principle, in both instances, borne out by facts.

* The narrative of Abulfeda is to the same effect : “ Nono mense [Ramadan], Bagdadum veniebant hac de clade *trepidi nuncii*. — Tantopere commovebat ea fama Bagdadenses, ut, continuis quasi convitiis et *lacrimis*, auxilium flagitarent, et impotes sui, *sacrorumque obliti*, et præ luctu *fatiscientes*, jejunium Ramaduni diurno alimentorum usu violarent.” An. Muslem. tom. iii. p. 318, 319.

The historian of Saladin describes, with equal pathos, the effect upon the Turks of the great overthrow at Arzof, and the sorrow which then troubled his master’s heart. See Vit. Saladin. cap. cxx.

The charge of the Christian chivalry on that eventful day, as depicted by Bohadin, in the genuine language of an eye-witness, perhaps conveys a more perfect idea of its tremendous power, than any European record of the feudal times. The Latin infantry, overpowered by [the furious onset of the Saracens, and driven among the gardens of the place, was on the point of being cut to pieces, “when,” says the Arabian writer, “I saw their horse suddenly concentrate, and couch their lances, within the lines of the infantry ; then, with one simultaneous shout, bursting forth on all sides, through the opening ranks of the foot, in the same moment, one mass pierced our right, another our left, and a third our centre, with a fury which made flight and resistance equally vain.” The army of Saladin was destroyed : but the heroic sultan kept the field, until not a man was left to rally at the sound of his brazen kettle-drum. In Mr. Gibbon’s superficial notice of the third crusade, we look in vain for the great battle of Arzof.

FINAL NOTES.

AUTHORITIES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

INTRODUCTION. VOL. I.

NOTE 1. p. 2.] "The whole subject, whether viewed with relation to the extraordinary rise and progress, either of the founder personally, or of the system itself, cannot be otherwise than one of the deepest interest: and we are persuaded, that, of those who have *considered* the comparative influences of the Mahometan and Christian religions, there are few who have not, at times, found themselves confounded at the survey; and compelled to admit, *that even the former must have been ordained for many wise and beneficent purposes*, and to confide in its instrumentality in the production, at any rate, of great eventual good." Retrospective Review, vol. iii. pp. 3, 4. Article, Sale's Koran. Compare p. 68., note (*) of the Introduction. See also President Edwards' Works, vol. viii. pp. 259—265.

NOTE 2. p. 5.] Roderic of Toledo asserts, that Mahomet was placed, by his uncle Abu Taleb, under the tuition of a Jewish astrologer; and traces to this source his acquaintance, such as it was, with Christianity as well as with Judaism. See Hist. Arab. p. 2., ad calc. Elmacin. Hist. Saracen. Had the Spanish prelate produced authentic vouchers for the assertion, this circumstance would clear up a serious difficulty in the history of Islamism. But the story is of no authority: compare Gibbon, vol. ix. pp. 257, 258. (edit. 8vo. London, 1802), and the testimonies there cited.

NOTE 3. p. 6.] "*Saraceni nec amici nobis unquam, nec hostes optandi, ultro citroque discursantes, quidquid inveniri poterat momento temporis parvi vastabant. — Omnes pari sorte sunt bellatores... per diversa reptantes in tranquillis, vel turbidis rebus; nec quisquam aliquando stivam apprehendit, vel arborem colit, aut arva subigendo quæritat victum: sed errant semper per spatia longe lateque distenta, sine lare, sine sedibus fixis, aut legibus.*" Amnian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4. This historian pre-

sents a living and moving picture of those sons of the desert: the whole context is deserving of perusal.

Note 4. p. 6.] The ante-Mahometan Arabs used their civil wars, as dates or eras, for the computation of time. See Al Kodaius, ap. Pocock. Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 178, 179. (edit. Oxon. 1806.) Can their character, as described in the text, require further illustration?

Note 5. p. 7.] The controversialist may dilate on the facility with which the revolution effected by Mahomet was accomplished. The real difficulties of his enterprise are to be found in the Koran. For the obstacles which he had to surmount, even among the *believing* Arabs, especially among the Bedoween tribes, see Sale's Koran, vol. i. pp. 255—257.; and compare Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 309.

Note 6. p. 8.] The cases of Moseilama, and of other imitators of Mahomet, have been plausibly adduced, as “*proving*, how easily the Arabians admitted, and how zealously they defended, the claims of every daring impostor.” (White, B. L. notes, p. xviii.) But the comparison does not hold. To *originate* an imposture, and to *copy* one, are widely different undertakings. The flame of religious enthusiasm, once kindled, is easily driven in new directions, “by every wind of doctrine.” To prepare and ignite the materials, *in the first instance*, is the true, and the only difficulty.

Note 7. p. 8.] The very able writer of the Article on Sale's Koran, in the Retrospective Review, has balanced, with a nice hand, the conflicting difficulties presented by the character of Mahomet. See vol. iii. pp. 6, 7, 8. “All accounts of Mahomet agree, that, *from his earliest years he was religiously inclined*, and showed great zeal against idolatry, and a strong wish for its extirpation.” Butler's Horæ Biblicæ: cf. Hott. H. O. p. 52.

Note 8. p. 9.] “*Prolixum esset omnia Arabum idola enumerare. Eos autem ab idololatriâ ad unius veri Dei cognitionem et cultum perduxit Mohammed, quod opus laudabile.*” Hyde, Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 129. edit. Oxon. 1760. For an enumeration of the multitudinous idols of Arabia, the reader may consult Pocock. Spec. pp. 4, 5—90, &c. “Si vesanos Arabum, tam antiquiorum quam recentiorum, — ritus inspexerimus, manifesta illorum idololatriæ, et certissima sædæ horum superstitionis indicia reperiemus; *ea interim differentia*, ut non immerito voluisse videatur imperator Manuel Comnenus — ut aliis potius verbis conciperetur Anathematis, quo *Mohammedanorum* superstitionibus renuntiari a conversis ad fidem Christianam vellent, forma, quam ea qua denunciaretur τὸ Θεὸν τοῦ Μωαμετ, *Deo Mohammedis*, utpote *qui non alium quam verum Deum coli voluit, licet modo non vero.*” Id. ib. p. 132, 133. Compare Bp. Warburton, D. L. Works, vol. v. p. 82. (edit. Lond. 1811.8vo.) with Davison on Prophecy, p. 163.

Note 9. p. 9.] For injunctions of Mahomet himself, inculcating pa-

tience, forbearance, and the use of *persuasion* with unbelievers, see Sale's Koran, vol. ii. pp. 94. 102. 239. 340. 347. 375. Among the earliest effects of these precepts, may be reckoned the conversion of the entire inhabitants of Medina, which took place long ere the Koran had sounded its note of war. See Sale, P. D. pp. 62, 63. Has not this important fact been slurred over, in the conduct of the Mahometan controversy?

Elmacin, himself a Christian, mentions the *voluntary* influx of pagans, Magians, Jews, and Christians, both natives of Arabia and foreigners, into the service and creed of Mahomet.

Note 10. p. 9.] In estimating the relative progress of the two religions, however, one great facility towards the original propagation of Mahometanism, when compared with the first promulgation of the Gospel, seems to have been unaccountably lost sight of, even by Christian writers. For the Gospel, by previously diffusing over the world the belief in, and the idea of, one God, had, if we may so express it, practically smoothed a channel for the Koran. Christianity, on the contrary, had to win its way, against the stream of a universal popular idolatry: hence arises a commanding accession to its intrinsic evidences, and a death-blow to the pretensions, in this aspect, of its imitative opponent.

Note 11. p. 11.] Doctor Robertson speaks of the *shortness* of the period employed in effecting the destruction of the Western empire. See Life of Charles V. vol. i. p. 71. The learned historian should have recollected, how far easier a task it is to *pull down*, than to *build*. Two centuries afforded ample space for the work of destruction.

Note 12. p. 11.] The author cannot allow a flippant note of Mr. Gibbon, in his narrative of the conquest of Syria, to pass without animadversion. Vol. ix. p. 384. note 51., the historian criticizes the mention of *bells* by Al Wakidi, and affects to question the competence, or the fidelity, of the truly learned interpreter. Mr. G. would have consulted better for his own reputation, if he had sometimes examined his authorities with more care. Al Wakidi's mention of bells in the churches of Bosra, is confirmed by the *Articles of Jerusalem* (a *contemporary* document); one of which expressly stipulates, that "The Christians should not ring, but only toll, their bells." Ockley, vol. i. pp. 223, 224., after MS. Arab.—Pocock, num. 362.

Mr. Gibbon's narrative of the conquest of Syria by the Saracens is disfigured by other specimens of sceptical presumption, which, in like manner, bring with them their own correction. His lively critique on the name of the general of Heraclius, may be instanced as a ludicrous example; the ingenuity of the historian here fairly runs away with his judgment:—"The name of *Werdan* is unknown to Theophanes, and, though it might belong to an Armenian chief, has very little of a Greek aspect or sound. If the Byzantine historians have mangled the oriental names,

the Arabs, *in this instance*, likewise have taken ample revenge on their enemies." Whatever may have been the *nominal* sins of Greeks or Arabs, Mr. Gibbon's emendation of the name of Werdan, for perverse ingenuity, bears away the palm from both. By a unique confusion of ideas, he first substitutes the *English* word, Andrew, for the *Greek* word, *Ανδρεας* and then triumphantly inquires, — "In transposing the *Greek* character from right to left, might they not produce, from the familiar appellation of *Andrew*, something like the anagram *Werdan*?" Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 388.

Less display of wit, and more accuracy of research, would have spared the historian of the empire the invention of his ingenious anagram. The name Werdan was *common* among the Greeks of the period. Mr. Ockley relates a remarkable anecdote of another Werdan, a Greek, and the slave of Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt: see History of the Saracens, vol. i. pp. 306, 307. See also Elmacin, Hist. Sar. p. 29., for a *third* Werdan.

Mr. Gibbon's wanton and presumptuous aspersion of the learned translator of Elmacin, the illustrious orientalist Erpenius, demands a graver censure. Having specified in the text, vol. ix. p. 369., the amount of the treasure said to have been captured at Madayn from the Persians, he thus undertakes, in a note, to correct "the fabulous computation: — yet I still suspect, that the extravagant numbers of Elmacin may be the error, not of the text, *but of the version*. The best translators from the Greek, for instance, I find to be very poor *arithmeticians*." And, following up the blow, the historian elsewhere adds, "I will *never* be answerable for the numbers of Erpenius." Mr. Gibbon ingenuously professes, in this fiftieth chapter of his history, *his total ignorance* of the oriental idioms. And ignorance of these idioms is, certainly, rather a novel kind of qualification, for the censor of an Arabic version or translator. Although the author may not vouch for the uniform correctness of Erpenius, he will undertake to answer, on this occasion, for the ignorance of Mr. Gibbon; who talks of *arithmetical numbers*, where the Arabic uses none. Was he, however, also ignorant, that, in this case, "the numbers of Erpenius" are confirmed by Ockley? See Hist. Sar. vol. i. p. 230. But *who* is the writer, whom a *translator of translations* would thus superciliously make light of? The *reviver* of Arabic literature in Europe; and the revered preceptor of Golius. See Lex. Arab. Præfat. The learned Hottinger has justly styled Erpenius, "*felicissimus ille Arabicarum literarum instaurator*." Primit. Heidelberg. p. 2. "On dit," says M. Lavocat, "que le roi de Maroc admiroit tellement les lettres qu'Erpenius lui écrivoit en Arabe, au nom des Provinces-Unies, qu'il ne pouvoit se lasser de les lire, et de les montrer à ceux qui parloient naturellement cette langue." Dict. Hist. Port. Titre, *Erpenius*. The author needs not offer an apology for this production of testimonies: for, a wanton attempt to

affix a stigma upon *such* a name, is a crime against the republic of letters. Mr. Gibbon's offence is capital, since his accusation is *wholly unfounded*. The Arabic word ألف signifies *a thousand*; and the original of Elmacin

ثَلَاثَةُ أَلْفِ أَلْفِ دِينَارٍ, is correctly rendered by Mr. Gibbon, after the depreciated version of Erpenius, "Three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold."

The lapses accumulated in this note, from a single chapter of the Decline and Fall, however apparently trivial, furnish ground for very serious inferences, respecting the degree of weight attaching to the general authority of Mr. Gibbon, as an historical writer. A judgment thus given to err in small things, is quite as liable to prove equally erroneous in graver speculations. And they will not be far wrong in their estimate, who shall try, with reference to the foregoing specimens of a sceptical criticism, the more elaborate scepticism exhibited through the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Note 13. p. 12.] For the extent of the Saracenic empire, A. H. 107., see Roderic of Toledo, Hist. Arab. p. 11. Compare Hottinger, Hist. Orient. ad init.; Walton, Bibl. Polyglot. Prolegom. tom. i. p. 93.; D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. titre *Eslam*; White, B. L. pp. 74, 75.; and the *Horæ Biblicæ* of Mr. Charles Butler, Works, vol. i. pp. 220. 223. The caliphate reached its largest compass of territory, under Walid I., A. H. 95. A. H. 114., it threatened the total subjugation of the West.

Note 14. p. 14.] White, B. L. p. 47. The manners of the Turks, at the present day, vividly exemplify the lasting force of the mental control of their religion. For original authorities on this subject, see Hott. Hist. Orient. pp. 304—306.

Note 15. p. 19.] "The Turks ascribe the fortunate successes of the empire, not so much to human prudence, policy, and valour, as that their first emperors waged war, *not* through ambition and a desire of dominion, but through the zeal of propagating the Mahometan religion; and, by that means, they procured the divine assistance to their undertakings." Demetrius Cantemir, History of the Ottoman empire, p. 8. note 5. of English translation.

Note 16. p. 19.] White, B. L. pp. 383, 384. Timour, in this zeal for proselytism, only followed the example set in India, by its first Turkish conquerors, Mahmud of Gazna and his successors. See Elmacin, Hist. Sar.; Maurice, History of Hindostan, ch. xii.; and Mills, Hist. Muham. pp. 190—192.

Note 17. p. 20.] For an exemplary animadversion on *rational* Christianity, falsely so called (descriptive, to the life, of the Unitarianism of our own day), and for an admirable exposure of those, who, without the apo-

logy of Mahometans, betray more than Mahometan inveteracy, in their rejection of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 334, 335. The predilection of modern Unitarians for the Mussulmans and their creed, has been often, and strangely, manifested. An *original* document, on the subject, is to be found in the Works of the Rev. Charles Leslie, vol. i. p. 207. The liking is certainly disinterested; for the compliment is by no means returned. The Mahometans, on the contrary, have always been remarkable, for their preference of the orthodox Christians (or Melchites), to the heterodox (or Jacobites). The *apostolical* antiquity of the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, is even contended for, by Mussulman doctors: "*Paulum, ex persecutore, factum esse Christianismi lumen et columnen, TRINITATIS clarissimum doctorem, fortissimumque hy-peraspisten.*" Ahmed. Muham. ap. Hott. H. O. p. 231.

Note 18. p. 21.] The difficulty of the solution is only augmented, by the vulgar notion, that Islamism is altogether a religion of *form*, and its theism a mere abstraction. It would much advance the interests of truth, if controversialists in general, and, above all, if Christian controversialists, would learn to attend less to pre-conceptions, and more to facts. In the present case, for example, the whole evidence of facts bears witness to the devotional spirit inherent in the Mahometan superstition. In Barbary and India, in Persia and Egypt, in the isles of the eastern ocean and in the steppes of Tartary, Mahometanism is characterized by the same peculiar spirit of devotion. See especially Vol. I. pp. 361, 362. of this work, and the Conclusion, with its notes.

Note 19. p. 29.] The foresight commonly ascribed by the learned to Mahomet, in the effort to account for his enterprize, and for its success, is almost more miraculous, than any thing laid claim to in his pretended revelation:—"Cum videret (are the words of Hottinger) Judæos, per orbem dispersos, viribusque attritos; Christianos, seu Nazaræos, tum in vita dissolutos, tum schismatibus inter se miserè laceratos; Arabes, densissima tenebrarum et errorum caligine obrutos; *omnem reliquam plebem*, [!] hianti quasi ore nova expectare; — *tum*, inquam, veterator novam, ex omnium religionum sacris conflata, proposuit religionem." *Hist. Orient.* p. 213. cf. iv. p. 239.

Does this picture describe the career of some philosophic potentate, placed on a commanding eminence, and practised in the political survey of states and nations? No, it is intended for the delineation of an Arab of the desert, an untaught pagan, who had made one or two trading voyages into Syria! Surely we might, quite as reasonably, be invited to swallow *all* the miracles, of *all* the Mahometan commentators together, as thus, with M. Hottinger, to account for the success of Mahomet, by a miracle greater than the collective wonders of Mahometan tradition, — by attributing to the arch-impostor an intuitive knowledge of mankind,

and of the world, his attainments and opportunities considered, little short of omniscience. Of Mahomet's native sagacity, indeed, we cannot form too high an estimate : but it was not *super-human*, and could be exercised, consequently, only in proportion to his means and opportunities of observation. As the scene gradually opened, doubtless his views enlarged.

Note 20. p. 81.] Even sceptics have fallen into the same error : “ *Bayle croit (observe M. Oelsner) que la terreur des armes a été l'unique cause des progrès étonnans de l'Islamisme. S'il la désignoit comme une des principales, il auroit raison. D'autres écrivains ont prétendue que la pluralité des femmes avoit déterminé le succès du nouveau culte. D'autres l'ont attribué aux promesses du paradis. La pluralité des femmes a sans doute gagné des partisans à l'Islamisme ; mais un motif de sensualité ne sauroit jamais, a lui seul, faire la fortune d'une religion ; et pour que les promesses du paradis soient efficaces, elles demandent le préalable d'un motif de foi et de conscience. Les raisons alléguées ne sont donc pas suffisantes pour expliquer le fait en question.* ” Effets de la Relig. de Moham. p. 18.

Note 21. p. 32.] The claim to miracles, as the test of a *new religion*, is by no means so easily set up, as the sceptic would have us believe. The cautious reserve of Mahomet (advantageously placed as he was for practising deceptions, in a dark age and among a rude and credulous people) upon the subject of miraculous evidences, reflects great lustre on the evidences of the Gospel miracles, which purport to have been performed at the most enlightened period, and among the most cultivated nations of the ancient world. For every part and feature of the early histories of Christianity, and of Mahometanism, we alike possess, in the New Testament, and in the Koran, *contemporary authority*. And every unbiassed mind must feel the contrast, between the full assertion of a miraculous origin, by the one document, and the total abstinence from the advancement of any such claim, in the other. Had Mahomet dared to hazard the pretension to miracles, assuredly there would have been found no parsimony of pseudo-miracles in his Koran : the omission is itself a voucher for the authenticity of the Gospel miracles. For, on the same principle it is clear, that, had Christ and his apostles *not* actually performed the miracles ascribed to them, the relations of these miracles could not have been introduced into the New Testament. M. Hottinger brings satisfactory proof that Mahomet himself never assumed, as his sectarists erroneously suppose, to be a worker of miracles. He, in fact, continually disclaims the power. See Hist. Orient. pp. 301—303 ; and compare D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. tom. i. pp. 135, 136. titre *Aïd*.

Note 22. p. 33.] The compass of the evidences from prophecy concerning our Lord, has been admirably represented by the late excellent Dr. Townson, in a sermon for Christmas Day : “ Since the coming of

Christ in the flesh was not to be with observation, that is, not with outward show, or worldly pomp; it was an instance of a wise and gracious Providence, that his character, his life and actions, the place of his birth, and the time of his coming, should be noted and marked out beforehand; that they among whom he was to appear, might know with certainty, and acknowledge their Lord. Hence a long train of prophecies concerning Christ or Messiah; from Adam to Malachi; from the opening, to the sealing, of the spirit of prophecy: which, as the time grew nearer, were still delivered with greater plainness and distinctness; till the oracles of God became so full and complete on this head, that, *almost every thing remarkable, that is recorded in the Gospels, as an event, had been delivered in the Old Testament, by way of prediction.*" Practical Discourses of the late Ven. Thomas Townson, D. D. p. 352. Private impression, London, 1828.

Note 23. p. 33.] "It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs, that Mahommedanism was no other than a human invention, that it owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword: and it is one of the strongest demonstrations of the divine original of Christianity, that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world, by the mere dint of its own truth; after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecution, as well as other oppositions, for three hundred years together; and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto." Sale, P. D. p. 65.

For some excellent remarks on the relative merits of the two religions, particularly with reference to their propagation, the reader, who happens to be unacquainted with the tract, will find his advantage in consulting President Edwards' "Miscellaneous Observations," ch. ix. See his Works, vol. viii. pp. 259—265. The contrast in *times, places, means, and methods*, of propagation, is there forcibly exposed; while the propagation of Mahometanism is shown itself to be, in one sense, "*a part of the propagation of Christianity*," and "*a confirmation of revealed religion*."

Note 24. p. 34.] "Multum quidem Christiani scriptores desudarunt ... in condenda Muhammedis historia; ita tamen, ut multis quoque erroribus, labores suos commacularent. ... Itaque judicio, et examine, opus est, ne vel falsa et putida objiciantur, sine certitudine, iis qui a nobis dissentiunt; vel, in alterum extremum currendo, omnia excusentur, pallientur, vel negentur, quæ homini impostori solent objici. ... Quæ autem, in hoc argumento, vel cavenda, vel sequenda sint, in historiâ criticâ sectæ Muhammedicæ querenda sunt.... TALEM AUTEM HACTENUS DESIDERAMUS." Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. vi. p. 473.

Note 25. p. 35.] The "various causes," so cautiously hinted at by Dr. White, have been elaborately collected by Hottinger. See Hist. Orient. pp. 274—339. The reader may form some judgment of the value of the rest, when he finds assigned, as one principal cause of the success of Mahometanism, the fact of its conservation!! "Duratio di-

uturna, et nunquam interrupta, quæ Muhammedismo, per secula decem, non potest negari." But *why* "diuturna?" *why* "nunquam interrupta?" A rare specimen, surely, of the argument in a circle. Dr. White, if not with equal candour, at least with more controversial skill, has altogether shunned this enumeration.

Note 26. p. 37.] For the constancy with which Mahometan sects have, for conscience-sake, endured persecution from their Mussulman brethren, see Hott. H. O. pp. 252, 253.; and D'Herbelot, B. O. t. i. p. 166, &c., for the penalties undergone by numerous confessors, upon the controversy relative to the *creation of the Koran*. On the subject of persecution *from without*, compare Sale's Koran, vol. ii. p. 91. note o.

Note 27. p. 37.] Grasserus, quoted by Hottinger, bears testimony to the zeal of Mahometans in the defence and propagation of their faith, altogether independently of any views to the extension of their temporal dominion. Speaking of the Arabs or Moors of India, he proceeds: — "De religione sua propaganda, non minùs laborare dicuntur, quàm Jesuitæ.... Nam et Calluph Mechanus (qui verus Muhammedanorum Papa) in prædictos regiones suos, subinde emissarios, homines acres, et in lege sua exercitatos, submittit, qui et Paganis Alkorum prædicant, et Jesuitis, armis et voce, acerrimè resistunt." Plaga Regia, p. 151. ap. Hott. H. O. p. 281. According to the same writer, a similar zeal for proselyting prevails among the Javanese; who embraced Islamism so late as A. D. 1562. By the vigilant circumspection of the sheriff of Mecca, missionaries, Grasserus tells us, were sent to Java; "ut res Muselmannicas ibidem curarent." Compare Asiat. Research. vol. v. pp. 7, 8. Hottinger describes Turkey as filled by a constant influx of *voluntary renegades*, from the provinces on the Austrian and Hungarian frontiers; from Bosnia, Armant, Sclavonia, and Albania. H. O. p. 283. Perversions of this nature have by no means abated at the present day. See Jowett's Christ. Research. pp. 264—273.

Note 28. p. 44.] The *co-ordinate* advancement of religion, and of learning, was among the earliest cares of Abderahman, the founder of the dynasty of the house of Ommiah in Spain. After the rites of religion, and the administration of justice, the interests of literature appear to have held the chief place, in the policy of this illustrious erector of a new caliphate: "Il établit un grand nombre d'écoles, pour l'instruction de la jeunesse; il recommande, qu'on lui inculquât d'abord les principes de la religion, et qu'on tournât après son esprit vers la science et les lettres; montrant lui-même combien il les estimait, par l'appui constant qu'il avait accordé aux savans et aux poètes." Histoire de la Domination des Arabes en Espagne, tome i. p. 243.

Note 29. p. 44.] In his masterly survey of the influences of Mahometanism upon Christendom, Mr. Sharon Turner traces the revival, not

only of letters, but of *religion* also, in Catholic Europe, to intercourse with the Saracen empire : “ From the hour of its portentous birth, Mohammedanism, notwithstanding its own absurdities, was *the unceasing censor of perverted Christianity*. Based upon its leading tenet of the unity of the Divine nature, sincere in its devotion, simple in its worship,...it fiercely accused the Christian world of idolatry and infidelity, of folly, superstition, and imposture. *It had retained some valuable truths of THE PATRIARCHAL THEISM* [see Note 42. p. 56. and Appendix, Nos. i. ii. of the present work]; and, so far, was fitly *corrective* of corrupted Christianity. ...That the Mussulman doctrines interested the curious in Europe, we know by the fact, that a French Abbot, the friend of St. Bernard, translated the Koran in the twelfth century. ...It was, at least, a chronological coincidence, that, after Mohammedanism had been established in Asia, Africa, and Spain, and after the crusades and other intercourse had brought it fully to the consideration of Europe, *reforming opinions abounded in its vicinity, and rapidly spread*. ...The sciences cultivated by the Spanish Arabs, drew inquisitive men, from all parts of Europe, to their cities and schools; and these were among the foremost in diffusing new ideas among their contemporaries. Gerbert, one of these students [afterwards Pope Sylvester II.], in the tenth century was bold enough to *call the Pope anti-christ*. It was from the schools in France, which he had planted, that Berengarius arose, *who attacked transubstantiation*, in the succeeding age. The schoolmen, whose inquiries roused the mind of Europe into discussions that never ceased till Wickliffe appeared, chiefly originated from the studies of the Arabian metaphysics [see Vol. II. pp. 289—296. of this work]; and Leo, the imperial Iconoclast, was urged to his resolution of destroying the images in the Christian churches, by a native of the country which the Saracens were occupying.” Hist. Engl. M. A. vol. v. pp. 111—116. In this passage we have the steps of the ascent, from the midnight darkness of popery, to the light and liberty of the Reformation; and, in each step, an imprint of the influences of Mahometanism.

Note 30. p. 45.] “ Florentibus Arabum rebus, summa meliorum literarum imperitia in tota ecclesia Latina erat: quum bonæ disciplinæ inter Muhammedanos maximè vigerent. Et profecto quicquid Latini scripserunt, postquam illos inscitiae suæ monuit Arabum industria, *id totum Arabibus acceptum debent*; Philosophiam, Medicinam, et Mathematica. Nam nullum Græcum scriptorem habuerunt, quem non ex Arabica in Latinam translatum legerint. Ptolemæi magnam syntaxin, prius ex Græca Arabicam, ex Arabica Latinam factam, tractare cœperunt. Sic Euclides Arabice, deinde Latine, conversus, tamdiu inter nos obtinuit. Donec, capta Constantinopoli, exules Græci nos, relictis lacunis, ad ipsos fontes convertere docuerunt.” Joseph. Scaliger, in epist. ad Stephanum Ubertum.

Note 31. p. 45.] Sir William Jones entertained the opinion, that the modern history of mathematics may *still* receive considerable illustration, from unexplored Arabic MSS. and versions. See *Asiat. Research.* vol. i. p. 412. ed. 8vo. For the acknowledged services already rendered by the Arabians, especially by their advances in astronomy and optics, and by their invention or first introduction of Algebra, see sect. xiii.

Note 32. p. 46.] On the gain derived by the Latins, from the study of the Saracenic literature, and on the uses of Arabic literature, see Walton, *Prolegom.* xiv. *Bibl. Polyglott.* tom. i. p. 95. “*Si scientiæ Græcæ apud nos perissent* (is the bold expression of Erpenius), *ex linguâ eas Arabicâ, dicitur, restitui posse.*” *De Ling. Arab.* p. 14. Many Greek authors are said still to exist in Arabic versions, the originals having long since been lost. See Olaus Celsius, *ap. Biblioth. Brem. Nov. Class.* v. pp. 221, 222.

Note 33. p. 46.] “*Foventibus apud Arabes, Almamone, et qui ipsi in imperio succederent, bonas literas, eo usque tandem studio et ingenio profecerunt, ut vix ipsis Græcis cedere videantur. Nihil in ullo literarum genere intactum reliquerunt. Nihil habuit Græcia eximium, quod non suum fecerint; de suo, quæ non acceperunt, multa non minus eximia protulerunt.*” Saville, *ap. Pocock. Spec.* p. 172.

Note 34. p. 47.] “*La condition des vaincus devint si douce, qu’au lieu de l’oppression qu’ils craignaient, ils se félicitèrent d’appartenir à des maîtres, qui, leur laissant le libre exercice de leur religion, la possession de leurs biens, et la jouissance de leurs libertés, n’exigeaient d’eux qu’un tribut modique, et la soumission aux lois générales, établies dans l’intérêt commun.*” *Extrait de la Préface de M. Antoine Conde, ap. De Marlès, Hist. des Arabes en Espagne, tome i. p. 14. conf. tome iii. pp. 401, 402.* This gentle character of the Saracen rule in Spain, was in accordance with the spirit of their primitive conquest of the peninsula: “*Une cruauté inutile* (observes M. De Marlès) *n’entra jamais, durant le cours de cette guerre, dans le plan de conduite des généraux Arabes. Les Musulmans, que les chroniques Espagnoles se plaisent à peindre comme des barbares altérés de sang, se montraient partout, humains, généreux, et protecteurs des peuples. Cela seul peut expliquer la rapidité de leurs conquêtes, et le peu de résistance dans le corps de la nation.*” *Ib. t. i. p. 84. note.*

Yet, according to the Bampton Lecturer, the nations who have embraced Mahometanism are universally distinguished, “*by a spirit of hostility and hatred to the rest of mankind.*” White, p. 297. The style of these sermons, indeed, throughout, aims too manifestly to dazzle by the force of brilliant and ambitious *contrasts*: Christianity is merciful; *therefore*, Mahometanism must be painted cruel. The zeal of controversy seems equally disposed to forget, the exemplary humanity of the Saracens in Spain, and the merciless barbarities of the Spaniards in South America,

and of the Portuguese in India. Even during the iron middle ages, the religion of Mahomet was distinguished by a spirit of charitable and courteous beneficence. The treatment of the Christians of Jerusalem by the generous Saladin, may be cited as a memorable example. The honourable fidelity with which he gave effect to the articles of surrender, and provided, not only for the safe conduct, but for the support of the departing exiles, extorted praise even from the Chroniclers of the Crusades. See Gulielm. Tyr. Continuat. Bell. Sacr. ap. Martene et Durand, Vet. Monument. Collect. tom. v. ff. 618—621.; and compare § xii. p. 208. note (*) of this work.

Note 35. p. 47.] Retrospective Review, vol. iii. pp. 5, 6. The Oxford professor, when he deplores (B. L. p. 299.) the, perhaps, apocryphal destruction of the Alexandrine library by the Saracens, has no memory for this authentic and recent sample of the barbarism of superstition. The illustrious projector of the Complutensian Polyglot, applying the torch to the royal library of Cordova, presents a picture of the triumph of bigotry over genius, such as the church of Rome alone can boast! For the literature of the Moors in Spain, see section xiii. *passim*. An interesting notice of Moorish literature occurs in Swinburne's Travels through Spain, p. 280.

Note 36. p. 48.] The transition is emphatically marked by the greatest of our orientalists: "*Languescere, sub barbaris Turcorum armis, cæpere demum apud Arabes hæc studia; et cum honore pristino, pristinum etiam vigorem amissere.*" Pocock. Specimen. pp. 172, 173. Before, however, the light of Arabian science was suffered to become extinct, it had fulfilled its providential period; like those heavenly bodies which perhaps preserve the balance of the universe, while apparently governed by distinct laws, and moving in an eccentric orbit: "The period of Arabian learning, which began with the building of Bagdad, ended only with the suppression of the caliphate; and was just coincident with that of European barbarism and ignorance." Philosophy of Modern History, vol. i. p. 254.

Note 37. p. 49.] See Section xiii. pp. 262, 263.

Note 38. p. 51.] "It has been from the cultivation of the sciences that are most intimately connected with natural philosophy, and from those pursuits which began the experimental study of it, that the Arabians have so much benefited mankind." Turner, H. M. A. vol. iv. pp. 417, 418.

Note 39. p. 51.] For proofs that the Saracens owed their first institution in letters and philosophy to the tolerated Syrian Christians, see Turner, vol. iv. pp. 414, 415; and compare Sect. xiii.

Note 40. p. 54.] Instead of "a deep pause in science and philosophy," we should, from the chair of the Professor of Arabic, have heard of the great *advances* which Islamism occasioned in both. From the unfounded assertions of Dr. White, it is a relief to turn to the facts of history, in the pages of Mr. Turner: "Three important mines of intellectual wealth were opened, in England and Europe, *principally*

by *Arabian scholars*, or by those who acquired and cultivated their attainments: these were, the *scholastic philosophy*, which revived that activity of mind, which the Grecian vanity had so much abused, and the gross habits of the Romans had so long paralyzed; those *mathematical sciences*, which the Grecians had imported from Alexandria, and had forgotten; and that *natural and experimental knowledge*, which neither Greeks nor Romans had ever much, or permanently, valued or pursued. — The great national improvement, that soon became discernible in England, after the twelfth century, arose from the combined operation, of the scholastic vigour and penetration of thought, — of the sublime deductions, and unerring reasoning, of the mathematical sciences, — and of the stream of knowledge, perpetually enlarging, that began to pour into the world from natural and experimental philosophy.” Hist. Engl. Middle Ages, vol. iv. pp. 405, 406.

Note 41. p. 55.] Error, when universal, may generally be traced to the perversion of truth. Idolatry doubtless had its origin in the *corruption* of the true doctrine of the Godhead; and the deifications of their fellow-men, in the natural aspirations of mankind, labouring under the effects of the Fall, after an *approachable* intercessor. The primitive connection between Gentile superstition, and the tradition of the mystery of the Trinity in Unity, may be deduced from the doctrine of the philosophers, especially that of the Pythagorean and Platonic schools, respecting the Godhead, which so wonderfully adumbrated the true belief.

The very errors of the heathen world, then, were efforts of human nature, to “feel after and find” God, as he is revealed to us in Scripture. The TRIUNE JEHOVAH is discernible in the multiplication of the Deity; the INCARNATE WORD, in the deification of men and heroes, and the introduction of sensible objects of worship; and the Spirit of God, or the HOLY GHOST, in the belief in oracles and dæmons. The yearnings of nature are strongly perceptible in these universal efforts of what has been, inadequately, termed *natural religion*; and its dictates have been fully met and satisfied, by the doctrines of Christianity. Hence the omnipotent success of the Gospel, on its first promulgation; a success, without parallel in the annals of the world. For Christianity, from the apostolic times to the age of Constantine, prospered solely by the arts of peace. Whereas Mahometanism, which proclaimed belief in a naked theism, must own itself indebted for its prosperity, chiefly to its successful appeal to the sword. The facts of history thus demonstrate, against the dreams of deism, which of the two religions was more congenial to the wants, the wishes, and the instinctive anticipations of mankind.

Note 42. p. 56.] In a publication occasionally referred to in these pages, it has been mentioned, as a high probability, respecting the founder of Islamism, “that his first design was that of raising himself an honourable

name, by striking at the root of the corruptions which surrounded him, and restoring those strict notions of the Unity and perfections of the Deity, which have ever formed the birthright and inheritance of the outcast children of Ishmael." Retrospect. Rev. vol. iii. p. 8. Compare Note 29. p. 44., and Appendix, Nos. i. ii. The belief in the Divine Unity, which prevailed throughout Ante-Mahometan Arabia, has been stated by Pocock, Spec. pp. 91, 92. 111—115. 145, 146, &c.; Sale, P. D. p. 21.; White, B. L. p. 68.; and Koran, passim.

The Sabian superstition had been long the prevailing religion of the Arabs (see Sale, P. D. pp. 18—20.); and one of its leading sects maintained a doctrine of the Godhead rudely analogous to the Scriptural doctrine of the Trinity in Unity: "Meminit Shahrestanius sectæ apud ipsos quam *الحرابانية* Harbanistas appellat, qui Deum et Unum et plures statuant: unum scilicet essentia; plures, quatenus se pluribus individuvis visu perceptilibus, velut septem planetis, necnon et personis terrestribus, se, indat, in quibus se manifestet, ac personam induat, citra tamen unitatis essentiæ suæ corruptionem." Pocock, Spec. pp. 149, 150. In this crude and strange conception, may we not discern, still, the effort to cling to the wreck of patriarchal tradition? the desire to make Deity approachable by man, by embodying the Divine essence in some personal and visible form?

Note 43. p. 57.] "The Arabians, naturally brave and warlike, had, even in their divided state, resisted with success every exertion of the Roman power." White, p. 73. "The non ante devictis Sabeæ Regibus (Od. i. 29.) and the intacti Arabum thesauri (Od. iii. 24.) of Horace, attest the virgin purity of Arabia." Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 232, note 27. Yet, in the face of facts, and of his own quotations, Mr. Gibbon expends some elaborate special pleading (ib. pp. 229. 239.), to prove that "the perpetual independence of the Arabs" is an unfounded boast. The object is as clear, as the argument is insignificant. The sceptical historian halts at every step. His exceptions are barely sufficient to establish the rule. He exults to discover, in the "Roman province of Arabia, the peculiar wilderness in which Ismael and his sons must have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren;" but he conveniently keeps out of view, that "the Bedoweens, whose arms and deserts are *not only the safeguards of their own freedom, but the barriers also of the happy Arabia,*" (ib. pp. 231, 232.) are acknowledged, by the Arabs themselves, to be the *only* pure and undoubted descendants and representatives of Ishmael.

Note 44. p. 62.] The anxiety manifested by Christian writers on the Mahometan controversy, to escape from the recognition of *any* interference of a special Providence in the rise of this arch-heresy, is perfectly anomalous. To insist on the operation of merely human causes, in the production of an event which is acknowledged subject of prophecy, is, in fact, to

take the world out of the hands of God. The course of argument in question assuredly could not have been adopted, had the able and upright advocates of revelation been led to consider, that, pushed to the extreme, it will infallibly lower and impugn the sure word of prophecy; making the word of God a predictor of events, over which the Author of that word has yet no special superintendence or control. Such an inference will not stand the least examination. For example, when Daniel foretels the fortunes of the four great empires, or when Isaiah speaks of Cyrus (whom God terms *his servant*) by name, — do we think of denying, should we not tremble to deny, the actual guidance of Providence in shaping the career of those empires, or the hand of a special Providence, in raising up that chosen instrument of the Divine counsels?

Why, then, scruple or shun the admission of a *similar* pre-ordination of events, in the case of Mahomet, whose still more formidable dominion, and far more lasting and fatal agency in the affairs of men, are equally subjects of clear and unquestioned predictions? Yet, reading the expositions of Mahometanism offered by the generality of controversialists, — and noting the elaborate efforts made to explain and account for every fact and feature of its history, from causes merely human, — it might well be thought essential to Christianity, to its interests, and to its evidences, that the notion of divine interposition in the production of *any* results, beyond the immediate sphere, and independent of the direct action, of the one true religion, should be absolutely and altogether banished from the mind.

No such conclusion, assuredly, entered into the contemplation of the class of writers here adverted to: but the train of argument into which, from the best and purest motives, they have inadvertently fallen, most certainly leads direct to it. My next notes will supply some marks of that superintendence, which this reasoning (must it be called?) undertakes to remove.

Note 45. p. 63.] “There could *no* time have happened, more fatal to the empire, nor more favourable to the enterprizes of the Saracens; *who seem to have been raised up on purpose by God*, to be a scourge to the Christian church, for not living answerably to that most holy religion which they had received.” Ockley, vol. i. p. 18. Dr. White, while strangely blind himself to the palpable footsteps of Providence in the whole matter, thus attests them by his acknowledgment of the appropriateness of the crisis; in which he undertakes to establish, “*from the express and universal testimony of history*, that, *every circumstance of the times, every particular in the manners and situation of mankind*, plainly and undeniably concurred to favour the success of Mahometan imposture.” B. L. p. 120.

Note 46. p. 64.] “The birth of Mahomet was *fortunately* placed in the most degenerate and disorderly period of the Persians, the Romans, and the barbarians of Europe: the empires [empire?] of Trajan, or even of Con-

stantine or Charlemagne, would have repelled the assault of the naked Saracens; and the torrent of fanaticism might have been obscurely lost in the sands of Arabia." D. & F. vol. ix. p. 360. For "fortunately," substitute *providentially*, and the concurrence of the agent with the times becomes explained, by the only truly rational mode of explanation. But Mr. Gibbon never admits a Providence in the affairs of men; and his history continually labours under the jarring and contradictory effects of his scepticism. — For the total disorganization of the Greek empire in the seventh century, compare Ockley, vol. i. pp. 17, 18; and Sale, P. D. pp. 46, 47. — Yet the victorious armies of Heraclius, recently returned from the triumphs of the Persian campaign, must have been formidable; composed too, as they were, chiefly of Tartar horse. See Elmacin, H. S. pp. 13, 14. This historian records a severe defeat of the Saracens, under the walls of Damascus; in which their leader, Khaled ebn Said, was killed. Ib. pp. 17, 18. A similar inference may be drawn, respecting the military force of Persia. See Ockley, vol. i. pp. 107—110, for the repulse of the Saracens at Thaalabiyah, and for the drawn battle of Hirah; and Elmacin, p. 25., for the desperate stand made by the Persians at Nehavend. Perhaps the picture of decay has been somewhat overcharged. Much should be allowed for the first fury of Mussulman fanaticism.

Note 47. p. 66.] "It was idle and ridiculous to bestow nothing but insolent opprobrium, and ignorant declamation, *upon one of the most powerful instruments which the hand of Providence has raised up, to influence the opinions and destinies of mankind, through a long succession of ages.*" Retrospect. Rev. vol. iii. p. 3. Every reader on Mahometanism must have in his mind *specimens* of the language here alluded to. "Versutum illud Diaboli instrumentum — Diaboli stercus — propudium naturæ et retriementum" — are among the learned courtesies of Hottinger to Mahomet. The contrast between this style of compliment, and the character of the false prophet, as delineated by another eminent and orthodox scholar, is amusing: "Id certum, naturalibus egregiè dotibus instructum Mohammedem — præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos — ac, præ cæteris, reverentiam Divini nominis. — Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut et divinarum laudum." Spanheim, Hist. Eccles. sect. vii. c. vii. l. 5. 7.

Note 48. p. 66.] The just distinction between the antagonist systems, viewed in a providential aspect, is this: the phenomena of Christianity, *prove that it came from God*; but those of Islamism show only that *it sprang from the overruled agency of natural events*, and that it is still upheld by their providential concurrence.

Note 49. p. 67.] Such appears to have been the spirit of the learned

Sale; whose memory has been very undeservedly aspersed by controversial writers. Such, also, appears to be the spirit of his able and eloquent apologist in a modern publication. It is the author's hope and belief, that to them, and to others, who have ventured, on grounds of conscientious principle, to think for themselves on the subject of Mahometanism, — may be justly ascribed, “the motives of the humble inquirer, who wishes to attribute actions to good intentions when he can, and *hopes to be able to discern something short of unmixed evil in a dispensation, which has been allowed, for centuries, to regulate the morals and religious feelings of millions* : — to claim *some* favourable consideration for the instructor and legislator of a whole hemisphere, and to dissipate the cloud of absurd and calumnious fable, that had been so long gathering around his name.” Retros. Rev. vol. iii. pp. 1, 2, 7.

Note 50. p. 68.] See note 27. “The Mahommedan religion made great progress in Malabar; as well from the zeal of its more early proselytes in converting the natives, as in purchasing or procuring the children of the poorer classes, and bringing them up in that faith.” Asiat. Research. v. 5. p. 7. This whole relation supplies a striking example of the propagation of Mahometanism through the medium of its commercial influences; and of the exemplary zeal with which the Arab traders, from the first ages of the Hejra, have converted the opportunities of commerce into means of advancing their religion.

Note 51. p. 69.] The idea of providential co-operation in the production of the Mahometan apostasy, has been resisted with needless jealousy. If we consult Scripture, we shall find that Divine Providence specially interposed, of old, in cases as unlikely. For example, the lying spirits put by Jehovah into the mouths of *false prophets*, purporting to prophesy the truth. See 1. Kings, xxii. 19—23. The special interposition is, in this instance, unquestionable; and the case is peculiarly in point. The action of the instrumentality employed, upon a *greater* or a *lesser* scale, makes no difference as to establishing the *principle* of providential interference.

Note 52. p. 69.] “*Et universa terra admirata est post BESTIAM, licet in die suo sit complendum, jam tamen non desunt plurimi, qui admirentur, et quasi titubare incipiant, dicentes: Quid esse creditur hoc indicium, quòd tanta multitudo adversatur fidei, et quòd ita prævalere permittitur contra populum Christianum? Putas, quòd tot millia hominum damnanda sunt, quasi unus homo? Putas, sine causâ permittit Deus illos in tantam excrescere infinitatem?*” Abbas Joachim in Apoc. xiii. ap. Hott. H. O. p. 280. The queries are put into the mouths of persons, perplexed by the phenomena of Mahometanism, and whose faith is supposed to be endangered by the survey of them. The passage adds another authority

of the middle ages, for the application of Rev. xiii. 11—18. to Mahomet and Mahometanism. See Vol. I. § iii.

Note 53. p. 69.] “We trust, that we shall be excused with our readers for the avowal of a wish to find some bright spots in a system, deeply dyed, we may be obliged to admit, in the result, with imposture; — that we may humbly vindicate ‘The ways of God to man,’ in doubting whether such an immense dispensation is so purely evil as is commonly assumed. — It cannot be denied that Mahometanism has been subservient, to great and important ends in the dispensations of Providence.” Retr. Rev. ut supr. pp. 7. 10. The unwillingness of Christian writers, hitherto, to admit the supposition of a pre-ordination, in however limited a sense, in the rise and progress of Islamism, has probably grown out of the notion, that the admission would place the Gospel and the Koran upon common ground. The notion is a most mistaken one. Mahometanism, in its providential aspect, arose only from the providential arrangement of the *natural* course of events: Christianity, on the contrary, is known to have been introduced and established by *miraculous deviations* from that course. The principle of an overruling Providence, working without miracle, has been ably expounded by Mr. Davison. See Discourses on Prophecy, pp. 76, 77. and 247, 248. The learned author exemplifies its action, in this lower sense, in the cases of Cyrus and David, as contra-distinguished from the supernatural action, in those of Moses, and of Saul.

Note 54. p. 70.] It is a fact deserving of attention, that the Mahometans themselves consider the providential history and fortunes of the Jews and the Arabians, to be alike connected with their descent from Abraham. See Sale’s Koran, vol. i. p. 105., with the commentary of Al Beidawi, note b.

Note 55. p. 71.] When it first occurred to the author to explain the phenomena of Mahometanism, with reference to the twofold covenant made by God with Abraham, he had no idea of finding an approximation to this very principle, preserved in Mahometan tradition. In the following passage of Shahrestani, however, cited by Pocock, the reader will observe the distinct recognition of a designed and germinant connection, between the covenants of Isaac and Ishmael:

“Postquam *divisa est lux* (انشعب النور) quæ ab Adamo ad Abrahamum, deinde ab eo ad posteros derivata est, in duas partes (في شعبين), quarum una apud filios Israelis mansit, altera apud filios Ismaelis; fuitque lux quæ in posteros Israelis descendit manifesta (ظاهرا), quæ ad posteros Ismaelis pervenit occulta (منخفا); lucis illius

clarioris indicium factum est multarum personarum apparitione, et prophetiæ in multis ex ipsis manifestatione; at lucis obscurioris, declaratione rituum et signorum, et inter paucos conclusus est rei status. Keblah autem sectæ primæ fuit Templum Hierosolymitanum, secundæ vero Templum Meccanum. Lex prioris iudicii manifestis constabat, posterioris, observatione signorum sacrorum. Inimici prioris fuerunt infideles, ut Pharaoh et Haman, posterioris autem, *κοινωνηται* seu idololatræ, idolorum et statuarum cultores." Shahrestani, ap. Pocock. Spec. pp. 54, 55.

In this tradition, by the statement of Mahometans themselves, there emanated from Abraham two lights, or covenants, the greater, or clearer, appertaining to Isaac, and his posterity; the lesser, or obscurer, to Ishmael, and his descendants: the light in the family of Isaac, is represented to have been embodied and diffused abroad through a long succession of inspired messengers and prophets; that in the family of Ishmael, is acknowledged to have lain buried in the obscurity of rites and symbols, and in the custody of a few witnesses: the former, in fine, is stated to have been designed for the confutation of infidelity; the latter, for the destruction of idolatry. — And while thus, *on its own showing*, Islamism yields the higher place to the Jewish and Christian revelations, the double process of accomplishment, and the twofold end set forth as aimed at, bear a singular analogy to the functions discharged by the opposed religious systems. — Could a stronger *argumentum ad hominem* be urged against Mahometans, than this genuine Mahometan tradition furnishes? The passage is brought home to the principle of this work, by the comment of Dr. Pocock: —

" Quid aliud ergo erit *Islamismus* quam *Ismaelismus*? *Ismaelem* Jorhamidas et Amalekitas *الي الاسلام* seu ad *Islamismum* invitasse dicunt: Mohammedes ergo, in quem lucem illam, prophetiæ in ipso terminandæ signum, desiisse volunt, dum apertiozem rituum *Ismaelitarum* sectæ propriorum doctrinam Alcorano (cælitus, ut fingunt, demisso) tradidit, Arabesque suos ab idolorum cultu revocavit, ISMAELISMI sub *Islamismi* titulo restaurator haberi voluit." Spec. ut supr.

May we not, without scruple, allow the arch-heretic *all* the honour here claimed for him,—namely, to rank as the *spurious* restorer, of the *spurious* creed, of the *spurious* son of Abraham?

Note 56. p. 71.] The Jews claim Abraham for their father in a double sense, a temporal and a spiritual. See Hott. H. O. p. 134. A similar twofold claim is also set up by the Mussulmans: "*Utroque modo Abrahamum Muhammedis patrem* vocant Arabes. *Illo, qui carnem spectat*, in Sur. de peregrinatione Meccana hæc occurrunt verba, *Pater vester Abrahamus*. Quærit Zamhascari, quo sensu Abraham nomen hoc obtineat,

cùm Arabes omnes ex ejus lumbis non sint orti : et respondet, Quia Abraham pater sit Apostoli Dei : hic verò pater fuit gentis suæ ; est autem gens prophetæ loco filiorum. Hoc, qui religionis identitatem spectat, Abraham Muhammedis et Muhammedanorum pater nuncupatur, quia eandem cum Abrahamo fidem et religionem amplecti se arbitrantur." Hott. H. O. p. 134.

The Turks and Tartars thus, according to the established rules of Islamism, became regularly grafted on, and incorporated with, the Ishmaelitic Mussulmans. The Turks, under Zentil, A. H. 82., had already rendered themselves formidable to the caliphs. See Elmac. H. Sar. 65, 66.—A. H. 101. is memorable for a signal overthrow of the Saracens, by their future supplanters in the empire of the Mahometan world. Id. ib. p. 79.

Note 57. p. 72.] The temporal fulfilment of Isaac's covenant, by the establishment of the Jews in Canaan, merges and is lost in its grand spiritual accomplishment, by the establishment of Christianity throughout the world.

Note 58. p. 72.] "Vix ulla Monarchia latius sua dilatarit pomœria, quàm, cum ipso imperio, Muhammed luem doctrinæ pestiferam." Hott. H. O. p. 274. The whole context presents a course of events strikingly analogous to the propagation of Christianity, as artfully depicted by Mr. Gibbon, in the opening paragraph of his fifteenth chapter. The appeal of Mahomet, from the first, to the temporal arm, effectually prevents this analogy from affecting in the least the Gospel evidences : but the degree of correspondence which obtains between the opposed creeds, in the character of their original promulgation, should be allowed its weight, in elucidating and corroborating the general argument.

Note 59. p. 73.] It is impossible to give more attention than it deserves, to the manner in which prophecy and history, in this argument, reciprocate their evidences. For, the existence, in the Old Testament, of two promises concerning Isaac and Ishmael, naturally directs research after a twofold accomplishment, in the history of their respective families, the Jews and the Arabians ; and the actual phenomena of Judaism and Christianity, on the one hand, and of Islamism, on the other, furnish just the corresponding accomplishments, required by, and to be anticipated from, the primitive circumstances of the case.

Note 60. p. 75.] To judge of the religion, indeed, by the pretensions of its founder, Mahometanism which, according to that authority, surpassed and superseded all former revelations, might fairly be submitted to the ordeal of an exclusive comparison with Christianity. But, regarded in its intrinsic character and features, it chiefly bears relation to another and lower standard. Since, in all its leading phenomena and characteristics, — in the whole national temper, habits, prejudices, and prepossessions, of

Arabia, — in all those component parts, in a word, which mainly forwarded its birth and propagation, the religion of Mahomet stands properly contrasted, not with the Gospel, but with the Law. And thus others have observed : —

“ Quant au rit extérieur, Mohammed semble se rapprocher *plus des Juifs que des Chrétiens* : car n’importe que la plupart des usages empruntés de la loi de Moïse n’aient été conservés que comme des usages très-anciens, leur effet est néanmoins tel, que *la religion Islamite en acquiert une physionomie Juive*. — Cette affinité entre les deux sectes devient plus forte, quand on considère que les Juifs sont Unitaires comme les Musulmans.” Oelsner, *Effets de la Religion de Mohammed*, pp. 24, 25. A Paris, 1810. For the identity of the Jews and the Mahometans, in their common fundamental, compare with Koran passim, Davison on Prophecy, pp. 163, 164.

Note 61. p. 76.] Mahomet’s doctrine of *force* is avowedly, and even ostentatiously, founded on Mosaic precedent. See Koran, vol. ii. p. 197., with the translator’s note (t). But the cases were different indeed : for the sword of Israel was drawn and exercised, in obedience to the Divine command, and within *prescribed* and *narrow* limits ; but the scimitar of Mahomet was wielded only under the impious pretence to a divine authority, and its omnivorous appetite knew no bounds, other than those of a devastated and depopulated world ! In this feature, therefore, the true revelation is essentially distinguished from its spurious travesty. Yet the alleged analogy, so far as it really obtains, is peculiar and important.

Note 62. p. 76.] The two nations, emanating from the one stock, issuing from the same desert, and prosecuting a similar religious warfare against idolatry, might well, without further cause, draw the attention of reflecting observers. But, when taken in connection with the Abrahamic covenants, the case assumes an increased interest and evidence, which seem to claim the serious thought of reflecting Christians. In the view of such minds, the extraordinary character of the matter-of-fact correspondence, will be allowed its due weight, in determining the probabilities of a designed analogy between Jewish and Arabian history.

Note 63. p. 78.] The marked contrast between the *law* and the *life* of Mahomet seems eminently providential. Had he not *thus* unveiled himself to the world as a false prophet, and a spurious Messiah, how many might have been ensnared by his specious heresy ! And how large additional weapons would have been furnished, to the armoury of scepticism and unbelief ! But the evidence of the moral contrast between the authors of the opposed religions, is complete and irresistible : Mahomet was, and confessed himself, a *sinner* (see Koran, vol. ii. pp. 378. 381.) ; Christ “ knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth : ” Mahomet was the wilful prey of his own unbridled passions ; Christ, the perfect

pattern of all virtue. The only comparison open to us is one of contrast; and the only appropriate contrast, that between "the swine wallowing in the mire," and "the lamb, without blemish, and without spot."

Note 64. p. 78.] As a set-off against the immoralities of Mahomet, Scripture, indeed, has been industriously searched for precedents; and triumphant stress has been laid by the unbeliever, upon the characters of David and Solomon. But the errors and crimes of the opposed individuals stand upon wholly different grounds. For, 1. The offences of David and Solomon were forbidden and proscribed by the Mosaic law; and 2. The offenders underwent, in their persons and in their posterity, the heaviest judicial punishments, denounced and inflicted on them by the supreme Giver of that law. The sins of Mahomet, on the contrary, 1. were not only tolerated, but expressly sanctioned, by his law; and 2. they were left uncorrected by any express punitive infliction of Providence. While the individual offences, therefore, condemn the law of the Koran itself, they leave wholly unaffected the integrity of the law of Moses.

Note 65. p. 78.] For large exemplifications of the moral and devotional spirit of Islamism, the reader may advantageously consult Hottinger. *Hist. Orient.* pp. 304—337.; also pp. 246, 247. for admissions of its affinity, in several respects, to Christianity: an affinity which draws from this learned writer the observation, — "In ea religione, haud obscuras veteris Christianismi apparere stricturas."

Note 66. p. 80.] When Heraclius inquired, in a council of his generals, "the reason of the surprising success of the Arabs, so inferior to the Greeks, both in number, strength, arms, and discipline?" The emperor received, Mr. Ockley tells us after Alwakidi, the following answer: "After a short silence, a grave man stood up, and told him 'that the reason was, because the Greeks had walked unworthy of their Christian profession, and changed their religion from what it was, when Jesus Christ first delivered it to them; injuring and oppressing one another; taking usury; committing fornication; and fomenting strife and variance among themselves.' — The emperor answered that he was too sensible of it." *Hist. of Sar.* vol. i. pp. 192, 193. Mr. Ockley confirms his Mahometan authority, by citing the concurrent testimonies of Theophanes and the Greeks. Compare Gibbon, ch. li. note 77. and vol. x. pp. 352, 353.

Note 67. p. 81.] Hottinger, H. O. pp. 212. 225—231. The heresies of Beryllus, of the Thnetopsuchites, the Ebionites and Nazarenes, the Collyridians, and the pestilent and wide-spreading sect of the Manichæans, are said all to have had their birth in Arabia; where, moreover, most of them reached their full stature. Compare Sale, P. D. pp. 45, 46.; and Olaus Celsius, *Hist. Ling. Arab.* It was surely well ordained, that the great scourge of the corruptions and heresies of the Christian church,

should spring up in the heart's core of heretical Christendom. "Diamond cut diamond," was the saying of Heraclius, when he pitted the Christian Arabs against the Saracens. The adage is still more applicable to the providential disposal, which thus employed heresy, to lop heresy away.

Note 68. p. 82.] Their impious rejection of Jesus, is the apostasy constantly objected by Mahomet against the Jews: and the Mahometans maintain, that *those who believe in Jesus*, both Mussulmans and Christians, must for ever prevail against the Jews. See Sale's Koran, vol. i. p. 67., with the commentary of Al Beidawi, also pp. 121. 123. 124. They further maintain with Christians, in opposition to the Jews, that Jesus is *their* promised Messiah: — "Rem ipsam si spectes et controversiam, quæ cum Judæis nobis intercedit, an Jesus Nazarenus sit verus Messias, diximus jam Muhammedanos à Christianorum stare partibus." Hott. Hist. Or. p. 105.

Note 69. p. 83.] The judicial infatuation of the once chosen people of God was strangely exemplified, so late as the eighth century; when the Jews of Spain, in a body, forsook their prosperous settlements, and forfeited *all* their possessions, to join the Syrian impostor Zonaria, who gave himself out for their Messiah. See Hist. de la Dominat. des Arabes en Espagne, tome i. p. 129.

Note 70. p. 83.] Patricides has preserved frightful traits of Jewish bigotry, at this very period. When Jerusalem, shortly before the rise of Mahomet, was besieged by Chosroes, "Congregârunt se ad illum Judæi à Tiberia, montibus Galilææ, Nazaretho, et qui vicini erant; veneruntque ad Domum Sanctum, ut Persis opem ferrent, in devastatione Templorum, et internecone Christianorum.—Occiderunt autem Judæi, cum Persis, plures Christianorum quàm quos vel recensere liceat. Erant autem Tyri, Judæorum quadraginta millia: scripserunt igitur Judæi Tyrii ad Judæos Hierosolymitanos, Galilæos Montanos, Tiberienses, ut noctu Paschatis Christianorum omnes convenirent, ad Christianos qui Tyri habitant interficiendos; postea, Hierosolymam ascenderent, eamque, Christianis occisis, occuparent!" Patricides, ap. Hott. Hist. Or. pp. 129, 130.

No words can heighten this awful picture of fallen Israel; still lingering in the precincts of the holy city; and, after six centuries of suffering, ready to unite with the infidel and the idolater, against the disciples of their own Messiah! In the very midst of their enormities, Mahomet appeared: they refused to acknowledge his pretended mission (see Hott. H. O. p. 216.); and, by a retribution exactly suited to the character of their national crime, the children of a remote generation were condemned to endure, under a false prophet, the penalty which their fathers had incurred by their rejection of the true Messiah, and which they had imputed on their children.

Note 71. p. 83.] Besides the political downfall of Christianity throughout the East, effected by the original triumphs of the Turks and Saracens,

eastern Christendom has laboured under an unremitting visitation, through the military institutions of the Mamelukes and the Janizaries. Children, torn from the arms of Christian parents, composed the materials of these formidable corps; and Christianity, in the crusades and in the Turkish wars, was persecuted and devoured by her own children. See Hott. Hist. Or. pp. 280—284.

Note 72. p. 84.] See Hooker, Eccles. Pol. vol. ii. p. 19. ed. 8vo.

Note 73. p. 85.] “*Ferax hæreseōn Arabia, quemadmodum et illi vicina Ægyptus. Uti enim serpentes (a fanciful analogy) utraque regio alit, humano generi nocentissimos; sic utraque protulit dogmata animorum nostrorum saluti prorsus pestifera.*” Danaus, Comment. in August. De Hæres. p. 201. See also Elmacin, Hist. Sar. pp. 82—84., for the universal prevalence of heresy in Egypt; and pp. 68—70., and 99., for the exemplary chastisement inflicted, through Mahometanism, upon the heads of the church of Alexandria, the heretical successors of Saint Athanasius.

The name of the caliph Mervan is rendered more infamous, by his ferocious cruelty to the Christians of Egypt, than famous, by the *honourable* appellation bestowed upon him of “the Ass of Mesopotamia.” Mr. Gibbon has expended some pains, to illustrate the *dignity* of the title: he is followed by Mr. Mills, who observes, “Mervan was *honoured* with this singular appellation; and his abilities deserved *every epithet of praise.*” — Perhaps neither writer was aware of the existence of an excellent Arabic *recipe*, by perseverance in which, even inferior abilities need not despair of attaining the same enviable distinction: “Ideoque qui carnibus *asinorum domesticorum* (الحمير الأهلية) vescuntur, *necesse est ut mutetur temperamentum eorum in temperamentum isti, quod hujusmodi asinis* (هذه الحمير) *proprium est, simile; quo fit, ut hebetes evadant, aliisque qualitatibus asinos istos referant.*” Author libri شامل ضارح (The book of Universal Assimilations) ap. Pocock. Spec. pp. 89, 90. For the campaigns of Mervan in the Caucasus, consult “Des Peuples du Caucase, ou Voyage D’Abou-el-Cassim,” pp. 64—69. Paris, 1828.

Note 74. p. 85.] The Archbishop of Toledo thus describes the state of religion in the seventh century, in Africa as well as in Arabia: “Cum Arabia et Africa, inter fidem Catholicam, et hæresin Arianam, et perfidiam Judaicam, et Idololatriam, diversis studiis traheretur.” Hist. Arab. p. 2. ad calc. Elmacin. Hist. Sar.

Note 75. p. 85.] Archbishop Ximenes sets down the fate of Spain to its true cause, and discerns the finger of God in the Mussulman invasion: “Walid, quia futurus erat virga furoris Domini, in populos Hispaniæ pestilentes, divino auxilio ferebatur, ut vicinas gentes suo imperio subjugaret.” Hist. Arab. ut supr. p. 8.

Note 76. p. 85.] The soil of catholic France had before proved fatal

to the Arabs. Previously to their final overthrow under Abderahman, in the great battle of Toulouse, two governors of Spain, Alsama and Ambisa, had perished in attempting this conquest. See De Marlès, tome i. pp. 124—130. The expedition of Abderame, and his conflict with Charles Martel, are narrated with great force and spirit in M. De Marlès' History. See tome i. pp. 139—142.

Note 77. p. 85.] "The monks of Italy," Mr. Gibbon sarcastically observes, "could affirm, and believe, that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five thousand of the Mahometans, had been crushed by the hammer of Charles." D. and F. x. p. 26. The historian should have known and cited the original *French* authorities; which very clearly show *how* the error of the Italian Chroniclers arose: "Prope Narbonam, juxta Birram fluvium (says John of Montreuil, speaking of the victory of Charles Martel) 385 millia Macometicos in fugam convertit." Johannes de Monsterolio, ap. Martene et Durand, Vet. Monument. Collect. tom. ii. p. 1352. There is nothing incredible in this computation. The Italians, it appears, substituted the numbers of the *Saracen army* for those of the *slain*. John of Montreuil was secretary to Charles VI.: the credibility of his computation is attested by the general accuracy of his research; and from his station, he must, in this instance, have had access to the original authorities.

Note 78. p. 85.] The peculiar character of French valour, as manifested in the wars of modern Europe, may be remarked in the original report of Musa to the Caliph, concerning the Franks of the eighth century: "Les Francs, impétueux et braves quand ils attaquent, sont faibles dans la défense, et timides après la défaite." Hist. des Arabes en Espagne, tome i. p. 110. note.

Note 79. p. 87.] It is an instructive fact, in illustration of the great providential plan, that the intervention of Providence appeared no less conspicuously, in the *preservation* of the Turkish power, at an earlier period, for the *correction* of Europe, than in its *repression*, by the arms of Sobieski, for its *deliverance*. After the battle of Lepanto, Greece, to a man, was ready to rise in arms against its oppressors; the Turks were preparing to abandon Constantinople; and, but for the fatal inaction of the victors, the Ottoman empire in Europe, so tenacious of life even in its present decline, might have fallen in the zenith of its power. The terror and despair of the Mussulmans is described, in a history of the Turkish war, addressed to Philip II., by a contemporary writer: "Cui rei fidem affirmasse, ipsam regiam urbem Constantinopolim: in qua, quamvis longissima discreta, atrox nuncius cladis acceptæ tantam trepidationem fecisse, tamque animos consternasse constet, ut nihil Turcæ quam de fuga cogitarent; ac tamquam hostis ad portas esset, tota urbe discurrentes, Christianos incolas rogarent, an Constantinopoli potiti victores, Turcas

suis legibus, suisque institutis vivere permissuri essent, tributo contenti ? multique gemmas ac cariora sua Christianis servanda clam traderent." Uberti Folietæ De Sacr. Fœd. in Selim. lib. iii. ap. Grævium, Thes. Ital. tom. i. pars ii. f. 1072.

Note 80. p. 87.] That the promise respecting Ishmael conveyed a *special* pledge of God's favour to him and his posterity, may be inferred, from the consideration, that *no promise* was subsequently asked or given, in favour of the sons of Abraham by Keturah; although his *legitimate* offspring. Instead, accordingly, of becoming a separate stock or nation, this branch of the Abrahamic family settled in Arabia, and, together with the descendants of Lot and of Esau, eventually mingled with, and merged in, the race of Ishmael: see Appendix No. I.

Note 81. p. 87.] *Both* Abrahamic covenants were formally and solemnly *renewed*: the promise concerning Isaac, with himself; and the promise respecting Ishmael, with his mother Hagar. Compare Gen. xxvi. 2—5. and xxi. 17, 18. The magnitude of the respective *fulfilments* seems to be significantly indicated by these solemn repetitions.

Note 82. p. 87.] See Gen. xvii. 15—18. The comment of Origen on this passage is directly confirmative of the view taken in the present work: See note 1. sect. i. p. 490. of vol. ii. Nor was Ishmael cut off from opportunities of religious improvement. To his eightieth year, he lived in near contact with Abraham, and the true patriarchal faith; and, at the last, he and Isaac met together as brethren, over the grave of their common father. Conf. Gen. xxv. 8, 9.

Note 83. p. 88.] Mahomet himself infers the establishment of *his* kingdom and creed, as the analogous double fulfilment belonging to Ishmael, from the character of the fulfilments already made known, in that part of the original covenant which respected Isaac: "We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a *Book of revelations, and wisdom*; and we gave them a *great kingdom*." Koran, ch. iv. A passage which the commentators understand as intimating the parallel double fortunes of Islamism: "Wherefore God will doubtless show *equal favour* to this prophet, a descendant also of Abraham, and to those who believe in him." Al Beidawi in loc.

Gen. xvi. 12. The following Mahometan commentary on this text, is to be found in Professor Lee's "Controversial Tracts:" "The meaning of this passage, viz. 'His hand will be in every man, and every man's hand in him,' is thus given (observes the Mussulman interpreter) by one of the Targumists: '*He shall rule over all, and all shall stand in need of him.*' The rest of the verse (he proceeds), viz. 'And he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren,' confirms this explanation. Now, it must appear to every attentive reader, that *neither Ishmael himself, nor any of his posterity*, ever obtained *universal dominion*, either *temporal or spiritual*, *not even over his own brethren*: *NOR IS THERE ANY ONE TO WHOM THIS*

PREDICTION WILL APPLY BUT MOHAMMED." Rejoinder of Mohammed Ruza of Hamadan, Prof. Lee's Tracts, pp. 271, 272.

For the merits of the Talmudic and Mussulman versions of the above place of Genesis, see the learned editor's note (*) ad calc. The rendering seems more natural than that of the Polyglot interlineary version; and it certainly accords better with the sense and bearings of the context.

Note 84. p. 91.] If we look to the actual character of the analogy, we uniformly find those features which belong to Christianity in a spiritual sense alone, presented literally by Islamism. The promises of a *kingdom*, of *thrones* and *mansions*, of *fountains* and *rivers of water*, which occur in the Gospel, convey only a *mystical* meaning. The Koran, on the contrary, uses the same images in their *literal* acceptation, and paints in the most glowing colours, the luxurious seats, and perennial springs and streams of Paradise. The remark extends to the precious stones, and glorious buildings, spoken of figuratively in the Apocalypse, but literally in the Koran.

Note 85. p. 95.] The tribes bordering on the Red Sea had some little practice in navigation. But the ignorance and unskilfulness of the Arabs in their naval attempts are proved by the fact, that they durst not venture through its celebrated straits, into the Indian ocean. See Sect. xii. Vol. II. p. 220. *note*.

Note 86. p. 96.] Regarded as an accomplishment of the prediction concerning Ishmael, "And he shall dwell in the presence (Heb. *face*) of all his brethren," the occupation by the Saracens of the Italian coasts, and their advance upon Rome, are highly important and interesting facts in their history. The prophetic collision would seem to have been incomplete, had they not, at least, *threatened* the mistress of the world. See Gibbon, x. 61—65. The sceptical historian is struck by the fact that, "*The three great nations of the world*, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy." Ch. lvi. ad init. Mr. Mills has, in this instance, still more happily caught the philosophic point of view: "In the military history of the disciples of Mahomet, few subjects are so well calculated to excite our astonishment, as their invasion of the Roman territories. Who could have *foretold* that the Arabic war-cry should be heard near the walls of Rome?" History of Muhammedanism, pp. 130, 131. A writer who can sometimes think so well, ought to have raised himself above the task of a compiler. Mr. Mills's *note from Voltaire*, in this context, places in a peculiarly striking light the *providential* character of the deliverance of Rome.

Note 87. p. 96.] Decline and Fall, vol. ix. pp. 483, 484, and x. pp. 21—23. Mr. Gibbon pleases himself with the fancy, that, had the project of Abderame succeeded, "the interpretation of the Koran might now be taught in the schools of Oxford." The historian is romantically

partial to the Mussulmans: it is a pity that the predilection should not be reciprocal. But Mahometanism has no bowels of mercy for scepticism, however refined or philosophic. It denounces for destruction, *all* who deny the doctrines of a resurrection and a Providence: "Hi Sadducæi (observes M. Hottinger), Muhammedanis ita exosi fuerunt, *ut obvios quosque sine ulla λυτπον* acceptione occiderint." They have a pithy canon on the subject: "Occidatur Sadducæus, neque acceptetur ab eo pœnitentia." It happened rather well, therefore, for Mr. Gibbon, that England was rescued from Mussulman domination. The Saracen prescription might not have altogether agreed with his constitution. Had *he* been caught in the schools of Oxford under the rule of Abderame, it would have been short shrift with him; — Occidatur Sadducæus, *neque acceptetur ab eo pœnitentia!*

Note 88. p. 99.] Mr. Gibbon (vol. x. pp. 41 — 50.) has taken a hasty and superficial view of the introduction and progress of learning among the Saracens. M. Oelsner (*Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* pp. 123—214.) has largely and learnedly discussed this important and interesting topic. Compare sections xii. xiii. of this work, and the authorities there referred to.

Note 89. p. 103.] For the reciprocal agency of the opposed religions, in shaping the course of events, towards the consummation fore-ordained by Divine Providence, and fore-shown in the prophetic Scriptures, see sections xii. xiii., and Conclusion. The providential office of the Saracens, and their exclusive fitness for the task which they appear to have been raised up to accomplish, I shall present in the words of the learned author of the "History of England during the Middle Ages:" whose independent testimony is as valuable in itself, as it is important for the corroboration of the views imperfectly sketched in this Introduction.

From the survey of the dormant state of the human mind, consequent on the downfall of the Western empire, Mr. Turner thus directs our attention to the corrective compensation provided in Mahometanism: "Rather than that the Roman literature should be re-established, it was better that the intellect of the European nations should for a season lie wholly fallow, visited only by the dews of heaven, and agitated by the tempests of their stormy life, *till the time should arrive in which a superior vegetation could, from other sources, be introduced.* But it was necessary to raise *somewhere* this superior vegetation, from which society was to derive a new intellectual life; knowledge, new empires; and human happiness, new hopes.

"At the very period when the Lombards were destroying the last vestiges of the Roman empire, an obscure people, little known before, was *raised up* to sudden greatness, from a corner of Asia, to perform the same work of destructive conquest, but with more beneficial consequences, in the eastern Grecian empire. The Arabians, in the seventh century, overran Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Africa, and, in the next age, Spain, with that facility, which can only be explained by the superiority of mental energy,

and the hardy virtues, over moral debility and corruption, *acting in the execution of the divine will.* — To *human eyes*, the alarming revolution seemed the annihilation of knowledge, and the establishment of ignorance and imposture in the government of the world. It was, indeed, a period of severe discipline and distress; but *it emancipated Christianity from the bondage, feuds, and perversions that were destroying it.* — It was a temporary swoon, from which the mind awakened with new powers, and soared to brighter regions.

“The *intellectual and moral* benefits of the temporary predominance of the Arabian fanatics, were durable and manifest. — It abolished the Magian fire-worship of Persia, which the Parthian empire had been upholding, and might have established in the East. It obliterated the wild, ascetic superstitions of ever-dreaming Egypt; and the contentious theology of the Greeks, Christians in name, but *worse* than pagans in conduct. And, as its victories spread, the debased manners, the wretched polity, and the imbecile administration of the court of Constantinople expired. — The hardy zealots of Arabia combined their imposture and their fierceness with so much personal merit, that they edified the conquered world with new examples of virtues then almost obsolete, — of temperance, frugality, love of justice; constancy, that no difficulties could repress; liberality, scarcely credible; piety, reverential and fervent; and an activity of practical mind, so efficacious and irresistible, that their triumphs seemed *half miraculous*, from their rapidity and repetition. *But no people that was on the earth when the Arabians first emerged, comprised so many qualities then wanted for its improvement*, as these energetic descendants of Ishmael and Joktan.” Hist. Engl. M. A. vol. iv. pp. 409 — 411.

Note 90. p. 103.] The moral and social triumphs of the Gospel, have been borne witness to, by the reluctant candour of its adversaries: of the very writers, who most affect to depreciate its higher claims, and to deny its divine origin. See *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi. pp. 154. 275 — 277; and x. pp. 242 — 245. The religion which could extort concessions like these, from Mr. Gibbon’s very imperfect sense of justice and fairness, has little to apprehend, from the shafts of his scepticism. To the *moral* mind of a Socrates or Plato, what an argument for *the truth* of Christianity might be drawn, from Mr. Gibbon’s statements of the civil effects of the Gospel, and from J. J. Rousseau’s delineation of the character of Jesus Christ?

Note 91. p. 104.] For the superiority of Islamism to all modes of natural religion, and to some forms of heresy, it may suffice to refer to the statements of its tenets, ap. Hotting. Hist. Or. pp. 92—95. 105, 106. 246, 247. “One sect of the Mahometans particularly believes *that Christ is God*, and the Redeemer of the world.” Worthington’s Boyle’s Lect. vol. ii. p. 246.

Note 92. p. 107.] The favourable pre-disposition of Mahometans ge-

nerally towards Christianity, strongly appears in their marked preference of it to Judaism. On this subject, M. Hottinger relates two interesting anecdotes, which came within his own observation : the one, of a Mussulman doctor, who assured him, that, in the ordinary and every-day conversation of Mahometans, the Christians were spoken of as decidedly preferable to the Jews ; and that they were regarded as every way more credible and trust-worthy : the other, of a Bohemian Jew, who actually became a convert to *Christianity*, in consequence of convictions awakened in his mind by *Mahometan teachers*, during a long captivity among the Turks. Hist. Or. p. 216. Compare the conclusion of the present work, for the important bearings of this anecdote.

Note 93. p. 107.] Dr. White's recapitulation does but imperfect justice to the Mussulman code of faith. The summary given by the learned, and certainly not partial, Hottinger, may show, that its agreements with Christianity are still closer and more extensive, than had entered into the conception of the Bampton lecturer or his coadjutors : " Id, quia ad rem facit, brevier monemur, *Muhammedanos tanto studio in salutis obtinendæ incumbere curam, ut, proculdubio, melius, in iis ad Christi veritatem perducendis, quàm continuis inter nos serendis et alendis litibus, laboraremus.* Docent, tutissimum esse solius Dei misericordiæ inniti: conveniens etiam ut creatura Creatori suo, sine ullâ retributionis spe, omni obsequio et cultu se devoteat; neque foliorum tantum strepitu, sed et operum fructu, se frugiferam arborem probet. De ipso Servatore nostro, vix quicquam scribunt et sentiunt, *quo non Socinianos, qui Christianorum nomine præter meritum superbire solent, confundant.* Agnoscunt, et contra Judæos acriter defendunt, Christum esse Messiam et Schilo; Verbum Dei; Verbum veritatis; Apostolum Dei, missum ut oves perditas Israëlis reduceret; miraculis coruscum; natum ex Maria Virgine; Intercessorem in alterâ vitâ. Scelestem in Servatorem stringere linguam, in Turcarum imperio, nulli impunè licet. Ne mentionem quidem Messiæ nisi honorificans, vel faciant ipsi, vel facere permittunt aliis. Hæc, et *plura alia*, in Muhammedanorum scriptis trita sunt." Hott. Primit. Heidelberg. pp. 154, 155. cf. Hist. Orient. pp. 247, 248.

Note 94. p. 108.] Towards the consummation to be effected in the Gentile world, and the final triumph of the Gospel, the general diffusion, through Mahometanism, of the Arabic idiom, must, in itself, be regarded as a preparatory circumstance of vast importance. The providential uses of this medium of universal intercourse with Asia and Africa, have been seen and acknowledged by the learned : " Amplectatur hoc linguæ beneficium, quo, cum Mauro, Ægypto, Syro, Persa, Turca, Tartaro, Indo, et ut semel dicam, *ferè in toto terrarum orbe, sine interprete conversari valeamus*; quo optimos autores et disciplinas possimus nostris hominibus tradere, omnes Christianæ fidei hostes Scripturarum gladio confodere, eos *ex ipsorum dogmatibus refellere*, totius orbis commercio unius linguæ

cognitione uti." Postel. De Ling. p. 83. cf. Walton. Bibl. Polyglot. Proleg. xiv. 4. pp. 93—95. The above extract might, alone, be enough to clear its learned and ingenious author from the imputation of doubtful faith. For the still more Christian testimony of Golius to the same effect, see Conclusion.

Note 95. p. 109.] "Nec mirandum est in ea quoque [Muhammedica] religione, haud obscuras veteris Christianismi apparere stricturas, cujus principium, Alkoranus, *ex ipsis quoque Sacrae Scripturae expressis verbis constat*.—De suo, vix pauca addiderit [Muhammedes], sed vel ex utriusque Testamenti libris, vel Judæorum traditionibus, *omnia mutuârit*." Hott. H. O. pp. 246, 247. Compare Sections v.—viii. passim.

Note 96. p. 109.] The facility with which Christianity may, hereafter, be revived, in countries where it has been overlaid by Mahometanism, has been happily illustrated by a remark of Dr. Robertson, on the restoration of Christian manners and institutions in Saracen Spain. See *Life of Charles V.* vol. i. pp. 176, 177. 8vo. edition, London, 1806.

Note 97. p. 110.] Both in its confessions of faith, and in its orthodox traditions, Islamism maintains points of belief, obviously leading its votaries to anticipate some such eventual consummation. The doctrine admitted and inculcated by Mahomet himself, that, at the last day, Jesus Christ shall judge the world, is a virtual surrender to the final supremacy of the Messiah. Among the authoritative traditions concerning the signs of the day of judgment, one,—*the capture of Constantinople by seventy thousand of the sons of Isaac*,—seems fitted to corroborate, among the Mussulmans, the scriptural predictions of the grand restoration of the Jews; and another, the demolition of the Caaba (never again to be rebuilt), by the Ethiopians, a Christian people, appears tantamount to the total subversion and suppression of the Mahometan faith. See Sale, P. D. pp. 106. 156. Eclect. Rev. vol. xvi. p. 522.; Jowett's *Christian Researches*, pp. 171—229.; and compare with Conclusion, especially with its notes. The mention of the *Ethiopians* is worth attention: before Mahomet's time, they visited Arabia as conquerors; they are themselves of *Arab* origin (Gibbon, vii. 341); and the Abyssinians still retain their Christianity, though sadly obscured. May not the converts of Saint Philip yet become instruments, for the conversion of Arabia to the faith of Christ? "Ab Abyssinis magni fieri quandam de Meccæ, Medinæque, per Christianum Septentrionalem Regem futura destructione, Prophetiam, refert *Besoldus*, in *Considerat. Legis et Sectæ Saracenicæ*." Schultet. Eccles. Muham. Brev. Delin. p. 22. cf. p. 491. infr. ad calc.

"L'on trouve (M. D'Herbelot mentions) parmi les traditions authentiques des Musulmans, celle qui porte que Jésus Christ, qu'ils appellent Issa, doit, à son second avènement, réunir toutes les religions, et toutes les sectes différentes, au Musulmanisme. Il est aisé d'entrevoir qu'ils ntendent en cet endroit, par le mot de *Musulmanisme*, le *CHRISTIANISME* :

car il conviendrait beaucoup mieux à leur faux Prophète de les réunir au Mahometisme." Biblioth. Orient. Titre *Eslam*.

For a more full exposition of this most interesting article of Mussulman belief, see D'Ohsson, *Tabl. de l'Emp. Oth.* tome i. pp. 426—429. ap. notes to conclusion.

SECTION I. Vol. I.

Note 1. p. 119.] Εἶπε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Ἰσραὴλ οὗτος ζήτησεν ἐναντίον σου.] Εξαιρετον τι ηξίου περι του Ισραηλ δ Αβρααμ, ουκ αρκουμενος τω, ζητω· διο προσεθηκεν· ἐναντίον σου. το γαρ ζην ἐναντίον Κυρίου, μακαριων εστι, και των ἁγιων μονων. Origen. in Genes. xvii. 18.

Note 2. p. 138.] See Appendix, No. I. and the authorities there referred to. Cf. Isai. lvii. 5, 6. 2 Kings, xvi. 3, 4. xvii. 10. xxiii. 10. Levit. xviii. 21. xx. 2. Ezek. xvi. 16—25. xx. 26.

Note 3. p. 140.] In the covenant of Isaac, we see the blessing continually devolving upon younger branches of his family; a disposal of which, Jacob, Judah, David, and Solomon are conspicuous examples: it is remarkably analogous, that a similar limitation should have practically obtained in the covenant of Ishmael, by its representation devolving on the house of a younger son; from whom also sprang Mahomet, the spurious counterfeit of the Messiah.

Note 0. p. 146. l. 19.] “L’élévation prompte et rapide d’un colosse aussi énorme, d’une monarchie aussi immense, est un phénomène politique dont on ne trouve pas un second exemple dans les fastes d’aucun autre peuple de la terre; il est digne sans doute des profondes méditations des philosophes.” D’Ohsson, *Tabl. de l’Emp. Othom.* tome i. p. 229.

SECTION II. Vol. I.

Note 1. p. 166.] To be personally marked out by prophecy, as a prophet, Mr. Davison has ably shown to be a distinction reserved for the Messiah. See *Discourses on Prophecy*, pp. 151—153. If the prophetic Scriptures appear, at all, to individualize Mahomet, by marks personally indicative of his character and rise,—there is in this no departure from the principle established by Mr. D.; since the arch-heretic is fore-shown, only as a *false* prophet, and an *antichrist*.

“Non oportet nos mirari super hæreses, quia sunt; futuræ enim præ-nunciabantur.” Tertullian.

Note 2. p. 182.] See Appendix, No. iii. It would almost seem as if because the claim to “understanding dark sentences” was peculiarly appropriated by Mahomet; interpreters, *therefore*, cannot discern the application of this prophetic description to *him*: perhaps the most difficult task in the conduct of a solid argument, is to deal with those, who, to use a homely but expressive adage, “cannot see the wood for the trees.”

It may be not uninteresting to notice, by the way, that our Lord’s pre-

diction, St. Matt. xxiv. 28., receives a very *literal* kind of illustration from the mouths of the Saracens themselves, as understood to prefigure the Mahometan desolation: "For, wheresoever the *carcase* is, there will the *eagles* be gathered together;" an image which occurs, word for word, in Alwakidi's description of the primitive Mussulmans: "The Saracens fell upon them, like *eagles* upon a *carcase*." Ockley, vol. i. p. 220. It may be added, as another circumstance in favour of this application, that the *black eagle* was the ensign borne by the first Saracen conquerors, *ib.* p. 172.: the *signs* of the prediction, therefore, are to be found with them, equally as with the Romans; and the principle of germinant interpretation, will allow of its including *both* visitations.

Note 3. p. 195.] Bp. Newton on Dan. xi. 40, &c. Diss. xv.

Note 0. p. 204. l. 21.] "The Moguls." The *Seljukian* dynasty of Roum or Cogni, is the power understood to be typified by "Daniel as 'The King of the North;'" and we have the authority of Abulfeda for the fact, that this very dynasty was the power destroyed by the Tartars. Speaking of the direct ancestor of this branch of the house of Seljuk, the historian observes:

وهذا قتلومش السلجوقي هو جد الملوك اصحاب قونية
واقصرا وملطبة الي ان استولي التتر

"Ab eo Cotlumischo propagati sunt *Selgukidæ* principes, qui Cunie [seu Iconii], Acsaræ, Malatiæ [verbo, *per Asiam Minorem*] deinceps regnarunt, donec *Tatari* dominationem eorum destruerent." Annal. Muslem. t. iii. pp. 202, 203. Cf. D'Ohsson, t. i. p. 120.

Note 4. p. 207.] Bp. Newton objects to interpret this part of the prophecy otherwise than literally of Judea; on the assumption, that the words "*the glorious holy mountain*," must denote some part of the Holy Land." Diss. xvii. Pt. ii. vol. i. p. 438. 8vo. 1824. His Lordship surely had forgotten his previous observation, that "Nothing is more usual with the prophets, than to describe the religion and worship of later times, by metaphors and figures borrowed from their own religion. The Christians may, *full as well* as the Jews, be comprehended under the name of *the holy people*, or *people of the holy ones*." Diss. xv. p. 347. But, if the names of the Jewish *people* may be transferred to the Christians, so may that of their *land*.

Note 0. p. 209. l. 11.] "Christian powers of Europe." It is impossible to omit noticing the existence of an ancient prophecy (so called) among the Turks, which has always led them to reckon on their eventual expulsion from Europe; as they seem to think, by the Russians. The author will content himself, on this subject, with giving authorities; leaving it to others to form opinions.

"Wallichius, in *Vitâ Mahometis* (p. 158.) refert, Turcas hodiernos in

annalibus suis legere, tamdiu perstiturum regnum Muhammedicum, donec veniant *figliuoli biondi*; i. e. flavi et albi filii, vel *filii ex Septentrione*, flavis et albis capillis, secundum aliorum interpretationem; utri autem Sueci hic intelligendi, ceu volunt nonnulli, *aliis discutiendum relinquo*." M. Samuel. Schultetus, Eccles. Muham. Brev. Delin. p. 22. Argentorati, 1668. Cf. Hottinger, Thes. Philol. l. 1. c. 1. §. ix. n. 5.

"Russia is the most formidable enemy of the Turks, not only from her actual superiority, but from the opinion generally entertained among that people. In conformity with an ancient prophecy, the Turks consider it as doomed by their immutable destiny, that they will be driven out of Europe by a neighbouring people, whom they believe to be the Russians, and whose sovereign will enter their capital in triumph. The idea of returning, at some future period, to Asia, whence they came, is tolerably familiar to the most enlightened among them; and they even appear to consider their establishment in Europe, as nothing more than an encampment." Military Reflections on Turkey, p. 21. London, 1828.

"Among all the great captains of Austria, it is principally to Prince Eugene of Savoy, that we are indebted for the decline of the crescent, which only the jealousies and rivalries of the Christian powers still support upon the horizon of Europe." Ib. p. 5.

Speaking with a friend well acquainted with Turkey, as to the existence of the Turkish prophecy alluded to, he mentioned, in confirmation, the interesting fact, that the Turks of Constantinople, to this day, make a point of having their remains transported to Scutari, and there interred; in consequence of the prevalent belief, that Europe is, for their nation, only an encampment, while Asia is to remain their inheritance.

Note 5. p. 209.] Passing events but too strongly confirm the anticipation in the text. It is quite enough to refer generally to the horrors reported to have taken place. Amidst the enormities of Turkish despotism, however, it is impossible not to admire the energy and firmness of the reigning Sultan. I am the more struck with what this Ottoman has already achieved, in the way of political reformation, when I read a passage of D'Ohsson, now before me, demonstrative of the sagacity of that eminent writer, and, in one respect, almost deserving the name of a kind of political prediction. As a proof of the high authority attaching to M. D'Ohsson's opinions upon Turkish affairs, this passage is doubly valuable.

"Pour réformer les *Othomans*, il ne faudroit qu'un esprit supérieur, qu'un Sultan sage, éclairé, entreprenant. Le pouvoir que la religion met dans ses mains, l'aveugle obéissance qu'elle prescrit aux sujets pour tout ce qui émane de son autorité, en rendroient l'entreprise moins hasardeuse, et les succès moins incertains.

"Par la disposition textuelle de la loi, le souverain a le droit, la force, la puissance de changer à son gré les ressorts de l'administration civile et

politique de l'empire, et d'adopter les principes que pourroient exiger les temps, les circonstances, et l'intérêt de l'état. Tout dépend, comme on voit, d'une seule tête. Qu'un Mohammed II., qu'un Selim I., qu'un Suleyman I., montent encore sur le trône; qu'ils soient secondés par le génie puissant d'un *Khair'ud-dinn Pascha*, d'un *Sinan Pascha*, d'un *Kupruli*, &c.; qu'un Mouphty, animé du même zèle et du même esprit, entre dans leurs vues — alors on verroit ces mêmes *Othomans*, jusque là si concentrés dans eux-mêmes, et si tyrannisés par l'empire des préjugés populaires, entretenir avec les Européens des relations plus intimes, adopter leur tactique et leur système militaire, — enfin changer absolument la face de leur empire." Tableau de l'Empire Othoman, Disc. Prelim. p. xxxv. A Paris, 1788.

SECTION III. Vol. I.

Note 1. p. 210.] The destruction of Jerusalem, the final dispersion of the Jews, their restoration, the conversion of the Gentiles, and the end of the world, will occur to every reader as prominent exemplifications.

Note 2. p. 211.] See p. 223. note (*) vol. i.

Note O. p. 213. l. 15.] Rev. ix. 7.] It is a singular coincidence, that some sects "assert the Koran to have *two faces*, one of a man, the other of a beast." See Sale, Prel. Disc. pp. 89, 90.

Note O. p. 222. l. 25.] Compare the computation of Mede, Works, pp. 586, 587. He dates from the capture of Bagdad by Togrul Bey, and shows, by a different process, the wonderful exactness of the prophetic reckoning, understood of this interval.

Note 3. p. 225.] According to Chalcocondylas, Amurath II., by means of his artillery, became master of Peloponnesus. De Reb. Turc. lib. vii. ap. Bishop Newton on Rev. ix. The same writer has minutely described the formidable engines employed, with fatal success, by Mahomet II. at the siege of Constantinople: "Bombardas fieri curavit maximas, quantas novimus, eâ tempestate, *nunquam extitisse*. — Jam quadraginta diebus murus bombardis fortiter quassatus est," &c. Id. ib. pp. 203, 204. The early and destructive use made of the recent invention by the Turks, seems to justify the appropriation to them of this most deadly arm of war.

Note 4. p. 238.] On the persecutions of Asam and Abdallah, see Elmacin, Hist. Sar. pp. 68—70. Respecting the amputations inflicted by the former, upon those Christians who did not receive his mark in the right hand, this writer observes, — "*Neque dici potest numerus eorum quos ita deformavit*:" and again—"Deinde misit in monasteria, ubi plurimos monachos comperit *signo carere*; quorum alios *decollavit*; alios verberibus necavit." (Compare Rev. xx. 4.) Respecting that monster of cruelty, Abdallah, the same historian relates as follows: "At hic, ut in Ægyptum venit, tyrannide *etiam antecessores* superavit; et duplicavit tributum (making the capitation tax, *binos pro duis aureis*); jussitque *NUMERARI homines*

et bestias ; et signavit Christianos notâ quâdam, figurâ scilicet leonis, ita ut quicunque invenirentur, neque notam illam in manibus suis haberent, eorum manus amputarentur." He was *punished* for these atrocities by the caliph, by being sent to repeat them in the government of Africa ; "*ubi, cum eodem modo, quo in Ægypto fecerat, sese gereret, insurrexerunt.*" The countenance and support of the caliphs make Mahometanism itself answerable for both persecutions. If fulfilments may ever be discerned by their compliance with the terms of the predictions, then was Rev. xiii. 16—18. so far accomplished by the Mahometan persecutors, Asam and Abdallah.

"*Les Zimmys sont tous les sujets, Chrétiens, Juifs, ou Païens, asservis à la domination Mahométane, et par-là soumis à la capitulation, Dzizijé ou Kharadjh, qui n'est jamais imposée que sur les non-Musulmans.*" D'Ohsson, *Tabl. de l'Emp. Othom.* Introd. p. 43.

Note 5. p. 239.] "This is the first time in which the *False Prophet* is mentioned. It is observable, he is *always* mentioned together with the *Devil* and *Beast* ; as one of the three principal enemies of pure religion : he is referred to, as if a *known character taken notice of before* ; he is represented as one who wrought miracles before the *Beast*. (Rev. xix. 20.) Now, in the description of the enemies of true religion (Rev. xiii.), we have express mention of *three* chiefs : the *Devil* ; the first *Beast*, that rose out of the sea ; the second *Beast*, that rose out of the earth. This second *Beast* was *to do great wonders ; to cause them that dwell on the earth to worship the first Beast*. This agrees so exactly with the character of the *False Prophet* here, that I think we may consider it as a *different title of the second Beast*." Lowman on Rev. xvi. 13. The author values this able argument the more highly, because Mr. Lowman only establishes the identity of the types themselves ; and thus *undesignedly* confirms the application, made by others, of both symbols, to Islamism.

The relation of the three powers noticed Rev. xvi. 13., and the identity of the *False Prophet* with the second *Beast*, Rev. xiii., may be seen with more advantage, if the contexts in question be distributed as underneath :

Rev. xvi. 13.

"And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs,

Come out of the mouth of the *Dragon*,

[1. The *Devil*.]

and out of the mouth of the *Beast*, and out of the mouth of the *False Prophet*.

[2. The *Papacy*.]

[3. Mahometanism.]

Rev. xix. 20.

And the *Beast* was taken,

and, with him, the *False Prophet* that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the *Beast*, and them that worshipped his image;

[cf. Rev. xiii. 11—18.]

these both were cast into a lake of fire burning with brimstone,

Rev. xx. 10.

And the *Devil* that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone,

where the *Beast*,

and the *False Prophet* are.

Note 6. p. 244.] See note 27. p. 37., and note 50. p. 68., on Introduction, Vol. I. — pp. 467., and 475. of this volume.

Note 7. p. 248.] Compare Sect. x.

Note 8. p. 251.] Conf. with Hebr. and LXX vers.—S. John xix. 30. The expression rendered “finished,” or more literally “perfected,” still leaves an opening for further accomplishments. It seems to be the aim of prophetic language, that we should commonly be unable to limit, beforehand, the fulfilments.

Note 9. p. 275.] “*Petrus Diaconus familiarissimus ejus [dicit] super caput [Sancti Gregorii] ipse Spiritum Sanctum, in similitudine columbæ tractantis, frequentissime perspexisset.*” S. Greg. Pap. Vita, a Johann. Diacon. l. lv. c. lxi.

SECTION IV. VOL. I.

Note 1. p. 286.] In no part of Mahomet's imposture, however, is there discoverable more inconsistency, than in his pretensions to superiority over Christ; to whom, at the same time, he relinquishes the high offices of Messiah, of Intercessor, and of Judge of all things at the last day; whom he further concedes to have been conceived of the Spirit of God, born of a pure virgin, and without taint of sin; and allows to have wrought the most amazing miracles: admissions which, severally and collectively, establish, in point of fact, the supremacy of our Lord.

Note 1. (*) p. 289.] “*Vocantur Arabes Kedareni* (Jer. xlix. 28.) בְּנֵי קֶדָר *Filiū Orientis, sive Orientales. Sapientes illos qui* (S. Matth. ii.) ἀπο ανατολων *venisse dicuntur, ab Arabia venisse, veterum Christianorum sententiam fuisse observat nobilissimus et doctissimus Hugo Grotius, quam et ipse sequitur.*” Pocock. Spec. pp. 34, 35. cf. Appendix, No. ii.

SECTION V. VOL. I.

Note 1. p. 325.] “But, at the present day, among the European Jews, those, for example, who reside in Italy and Germany, when a marriage proves barren, it is not unusual to take in marriage a second wife, for the sake of procuring offspring; and that, *not without the legal sanction of the Roman pontiff*: a fact which I learned from the treatise of Rabbi Leo Mutinensis, ruler of the synagogue at Venice, on the customs of the Hebrews, or “*A History of the Hebrew Rites* :” being the same manuscript of which I have elsewhere made mention. For, in the printed edition,

published at Paris a long time ago, *the passage relative to the indulgence granted by the pope*, which occurs in my MS. copy, *is, it would appear, DESIGNEDLY EXPUNGED*. Now the account of their polygamy, as it formerly stood in the original work, and as it stands in the copy in my possession, which was faithfully transcribed in Italy, is as follows: ‘It is lawful among the Jews to take in marriage more than one wife; indeed, as many as they please. Yet, in Italy and Germany, it is not their usage to marry more than one, except in cases where there are not *sons* by the first wife, who must be satisfied, moreover, that the second marriage is contracted on this ground; and in Italy, it is their practice, in such cases, TO APPLY FOR A LICENCE, AND TO TAKE OUT A DISPENSATION FROM THE POPE.’” Selden, *Ux. Ebraic. Op. tom. iii. f. 570*.

Note 1. (*) p. 353.] It had been the intention of the author to give, in this note, for the convenience of oriental scholars, the originals of the select sentences from Ali, arranged in the same order with that observed in the text. Want of space, however, obliges him to relinquish the purpose.

SECTION VI. VOL. I.

Note 1. p. 367.] “Denique sectam esse inter Mohammedanos, quæ Jesum pro Deo habet, venturoque ut judicet genus humanum die novissimo.” Reland, *De Relig. Mohamm. p. 45. cf. Marracci, Refutat. Alcor. p. 219*.

Note 2. p. 367.] See note 1. p. 286. in the last page. The *ad hominem* arguments with which Mahometans may be pressed, from the belief which their creed obliges them to entertain respecting Christ, would seem to supply powerful weapons to wise and skilful labourers in the propagation of the Gospel.

Note 3. p. 379.] It is in the figurative and fanciful expressions, not infrequent even among the greatest of the ancient fathers, that Romanists find or feign a colour for some of their grossest perversions of Scripture and common sense. As a specimen of harmless extravagance, in commenting on Scripture, the author may mention a homily on the Woman of Samaria, attributed to S. Augustin, in which her “five husbands” are stated to be *personifications of the five senses*. The mode of interpreting here adopted, is the converse of that which prevails in the Koran; which always finds a *caral* sense for *spiritual* representations.

Note 4. p. 388.] Compare Sect. ix. vol. ii. pp. 108—110. The *scholastic* controversy on the Divine attributes, may be said to have originated in the schools of the Saracens. The diversity of sects and opinions, to which this controversy gave birth in the Mahometan world, will be found fully exposed by the learned Pocock. Spec. pp. 208—227.

SECTION VII. VOL. I.

Note 1. p. 407.] Romanists would seem to have taken a leaf out of the Koran, in the latitude which they allow, "of returning to ordinary *employments* and *diversions*, after divine service is over." Cf. Sale, Prel. Disc. p. 200. The following is the precept of the Koran, respecting the observance of the Mussulman Sabbath: "When prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves through the land as ye list, and seek gain of the liberality of God." Sale's Koran, vol. ii. p. 438, with note (k). In Roman Catholic countries, is not the practice but too much in unison with this precept?

Note 2. p. 409.] Nicole, *Traité de la Prière*, tome i. Pref. pp. v. vi. *Usage de l'Eglise*. The apostolic constitutions enjoin prayer six times a day. Nightly rising to prayer was a precept and practice of primitive Christianity, as since of Islamism. Also of Judaism. See Ps. cxix. 62.

Note 3. p. 412.] "Quando Turcorum, in eorum Ecclesiâ silentium, et Christianorum, in suâ Ecclesiâ, tempore orationis, *tumultum*, considero, magna mihi admiratio generatur de tanta ordinis permutazione; unde, scilicet, *in illis tanta devotio, in istis verò tanta indevotio; cùm tamen contrarium esse debere, causa et ratio ipsa requirat.*" Sept. Castrens. ap. Hott. Hist. Or. p. 310. Again: "Precum ordinariorum pensum absolventes, quàm, Bone Deus, *animo sunt devoto!*" Id. ib.

"Vidi, in Sanctæ Sophiæ Templo, ad *his mille* congregatos, *eo silentio*, ut, ante ingressum, *ibi neminem esse* ratus sum." Fr. Barton. ap. Hott. ut supr.

Note 4. p. 419.] On the first clause of the passage extracted in the text, Mr. Sale observes, that the original will admit also of being translated generally, "Whoso regardeth the rites of the pilgrimage," &c. Had the learned translator understood the principle of Hebrew parallelism, according to which, this place of the Koran is strictly constructed, he would have seen, not only that his rendering, "And whoso maketh valuable *offerings* unto God," &c. is the right, but that it is the *only* right, translation. The passage is a fine example of the *Epanodos*. Compare Bp. Jebb's "Sacred Literature," Sections iv. xvi. The law of *Epanodos*, by far the most important form of Hebrew composition, was unknown to Bp. Lowth.

Note 5. p. 420.] "Conscenso suggestu ligneo, illis [congregationi] *legem suam enarrat* [Calipha]. Assurgentes autem Ismaelitarum sapientes pro eo precantur; summaque ejus majestate et pietate commemorata, eum dimittunt, reliquique omnes *Amen* accinunt. Postea ipsis benedicit, et adductum sibi camelum mactat; *atque hoc eorum Pascha est*. Portiones principibus distribuit, qui avidè ab ipso arripiunt, ut *victimæ* manu *Sancti sui Regis* mactatæ, aliquid degustent quo laetantur. Deinde ex oratorio decedit." Benjam. Itin. ap. Hott. Hist. Or. pp. 288, 289.

The importance of *sacrifice* in the Mahometan ritual, appears by the fact, that it is the great resort of the Mussulmans, in extreme emergencies. Thus, in the calamitous reign of Amurath III., when public prayers were ordered, by the Sultan, for the empire, then torn, at once, by civil dissensions, war, and pestilence, — “ A la suite d'un discours analogue aux circonstances, prononcé par le prédicateur ordinaire de *Sainte Sophie*, on implora la miséricorde divine, et l'intercession du Prophète : les assistants prosternés, et baignant la terre de leurs larmes, faisoient retentir l'air de leurs gémissens et de leurs sanglots. Mourad III. *fit immoler, le même jour, un grand nombre des victimes*, en répandant des sommes considérables dans le sein des pauvres.” D'Ohsson, tome ii. p. 246.

In exposing the incorrectness of Mr. Gibbon's statement, that the Mahometan religion is without a sacrifice, it may be not out of place to notice the *reputable* inconsistency into which the same historian has been betrayed, in his alternate indulgence of two irreconcilable propensities, love of historical truth, and hatred of Christianity. The fruits of these conflicting passions are legible, in the *opposite* characters of Mahometanism which he has bequeathed to the judgment of his readers :

“ These painful restraints [the abstinence of the Ramadan, and the interdiction of wine,] are, doubtless, infringed by the libertine, and eluded by the hypocrite : *but the legislator, by whom they are enacted, cannot surely be accused of alluring his proselytes, by the indulgence of their sensual appetites.*”

Decl. and Fall, ch. l.

pp. 276, 277.

“ The restraints which he imposed were requisite to establish the credit of the prophet, and to exercise the obedience of the people.”

“ *The voice of Mahomet invited the Arabs to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their darling passions in this world and the next.*”

Decl. and Fall, ch. l. p. 350.

& cf. p. 297.

The author will not characterize these passages, as such contradictions would have been characterized by Mr. Gibbon, had he detected such, in the pages of Bishop Warburton, of Mr. Davis, or of Lord Hailes.

Note 6. p. 422.] “ *Mufti*, apud Turcas, Sacerdotum supremus, ut, apud nos, *Romanus Pontifex*.” Busbeq. ep. 1. ap. Hott. H. O. p. 284.

SECTION VIII. Vol. II.

Note 1. p. 73.] The affinities of expression appear peculiarly strong, on comparing the Koran with the Arabic version of the Bible.

SECTION IX. Vol. II.

Note 1. p. 102.] “ Imo eo processit impius ille Motazalorum Monachus *Moxdar*, ut diceret, — Posse Deum mentiri, et injuriam facere ; et si ita fecerit, futurum Deum iniquum, mendacem.” Poc. Spec. p. 242.

Al Mozdar was not mistaken ; for *his* God was the Devil. — “ C'est sous le Khaliphat de Mohammed I., que les anciennes erreurs de Manès, — *Mani-Zindick*, — firent les plus grand progrès parmi les Musulmans. *Mohammed* I. exerça contre ces *nouveaux Manichéens* les plus grandes rigueurs, et se fit même un devoir d'assister à leur supplice, avec un appareil aussi pòmpeux qu'effrayant.” D'Ohsson, *Tabl. del' Emp. Oth.* tome i. p. 102.

Note 2. p. 103.] The pretexes of the Unitarian sectarists of the nineteenth century have been too effectually exposed, and the controversy is too fresh in the public mind, to require or leave room for any incidental illustrations. But, while these final notes are passing through the press, a tract has fallen into the Author's hands, printed early in the eighteenth century ; which contains some valuable and most unexpected coincidences with the view of Mahometanism presented in these pages ; and a thorough exposure of the affinity and consanguinity of Socinianism, with that superstition. The treatise (which seems to have been unknown to Mr. Sale) is entitled, — “ Historical and Critical Reflections upon Mahometanism and Socinianism.” London, 1712. 12mo. It occurs in a volume of tracts, numbered 10. x. m., in the British Museum. To judge by the *spirit and learning*, as well as the date, it might have been the production of Mr. Charles Leslie. The parallel between the two heresies ; the Mahometan filiation of the sect of Socinus ; its inferiority of belief to Islamism ; its *vain* attempts to amalgamate with the sectarists of Mahomet ; its affectation of dissent from them ; its like obstinate misunderstandings, or wilful misrepresentations, of the catholic doctrine, — are all exhibited with uncompromising fidelity, and confirmed by original authorities from the early annals of the Socinians. Specimens must not be withheld.

“ Michael Servetus, who was the *first* that dogmatized, in the sixteenth century, against the mystery of the Trinity, had dipped into the Alcoran ; upon the briars of which (they are the words of Lubinietski), like a bee, he gathered the honey of his doctrine : ‘ Ut ingenium excoleret, in *Africam*, quoque transfretaverat ; Apis instar, cuncta sibi profutura colligans ; et, ex *ipsis Alcorani tribulis, mellis materiam exigebat.*’ ” Reflections, p. 212. conf. Lubinietski, *Ist. Ref. Polon.* lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 96.

“ Socinus (Respons. ad Libell. Jacobi Wieki, cap. i. p. 536.) owns, that the Alcoran speaks of the unity of God *in the same sense* that he spoke of it himself, and that his predecessors in Poland and Transylvania had spoke of it before him.” *Ib.* p. 182.

“ It is evident that Mahomet understood not the doctrine of the orthodox, concerning the mystery of the Trinity ; *in which the Unitarians of our days imitate him exactly.* They scarce ever attack our sentiments, without disfiguring them by interpretations, which true Christians cannot

admit." P. 175. Has the lapse of a century wrought any change in the spirit or practice of the school?

Having shown from the cases of Neuser, of Francis David, of Sylvan, and the Transylvanians, the efforts of early Unitarianism to effect a union with Islamism (for its more recent attempts, see Leslie's Works, v. i. pp. 206, 207., and 216—218.), the author of the *Reflections* proceeds:—"I have, I think, put the parallel between Mahometanism and Socinianism in a pretty clear light. I could carry it farther to the disadvantage of our Unitarians, who are at a greater distance from the truth than the Mussulmen,—in the articles of the *Creation*, of the *knowledge of God*, of *Providence*, of *predestination*, and of the *state of human souls after death*. But I shall content myself with an account of what essentially belongs to my subject, and may serve, by the grace of God, to fortify the youth, who unfortunately, at this day, suffer themselves to be seduced by opinions, which manifestly tend to THE DESTRUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY." pp. 188, 189. Compare Leslie's Works, vol. i. p. 452.

Subjoined to the treatise is a letter of approval from *Leibnitz*, dated Berlin, Dec. 2. 1706; in which, after a strong testimony to its merits, that great scholar adds: "As to the Socinians, it must be owned that they come very near the Mahometans. The Socinians push their temerity farther than the Mahometans, in points of doctrine." Conf. Leslie, vol. i. pp. 431—433.

It is peculiarly satisfactory to the present writer, to find, in so thoroughly Catholic an antidote to Socinian heresy, the following exact coincidences with his own view of the materials of thought and investigation presented, to the eye of true Christian philosophy, by the phenomena of Mahometanism:—

"The Mahometan religion hath made so much noise in the world, its progress hath been so surprising and speedy, and *its long continuance*, amidst an infinite number of revolutions, *carries in it something so wonderful*, that, in my opinion, history cannot inform us of any event, that deserves to be *more narrowly considered*." *Reflections*, p. 1. ad init.

"I know it is commonly said, that Mahometanism was established by force of arms, and by doing violence to the people's consciences: but, not to say that it is *impossible* conversions of this nature should be *long-lived*, I maintain that this cannot be proved in all the extent that is commonly given to it. Mahomet, with the few he had gained at Mecca and Jatreb by his preaching, *was not in a condition to conquer all Arabia*, nor to draw in such a multitude to his party, *by force*. I own that violence had some place here, *but certainly persuasion had more*." *Ib.* p. 170. Compare Introduction, pp. 6—9, &c.; 12, 13, &c.

Between the appearance of the *Historical and Critical Reflections*, and the publication of Professor White's *Bampton Lectures*, the course of in-

quiry respecting Mahometanism, notwithstanding the successful labours of Mr. Sale, assuredly had much retrograded; nor has it since materially advanced.

Before I take leave of this interesting little volume, it is right to notice, that Allwoerden, in his life of Servetus (*Historia Michaelis Serveti, Helmstadii.*), undertakes to controvert the account generally given of the voyage to Africa. His argument, however, consists altogether of negative evidences; and he proves himself unacquainted with the work of Lubinietski, by citing, as the only testimony borne by him on the subject, a passage which he finds in the pages of an opponent, and which he, very justly, pronounces to be *nil ad rem*: “Provocat Boysenius hac in re ad Stanislaum Lubienicum, *caussæ Servetianæ semper Patronum*, in Hist. Reform. Polon. l. ii. c. v. p. 96. scribentem: ‘*Levis est ex Hispania in Africam trajectus.*’ Verum, quæ qualis ista conclusio? *Levis est ex Hispania in Africam trajectus, Ergo Servetus ex Hispania in Africam est profectus. Nisi me omnia fallunt, fallit quoque ista conclusio.*” H. A. Allwoerden, ut supr. p. 19.

His readers are much indebted to the learned biographer for the information, that the passage of Lubinietski, which he quotes from Boysenius, fails to prove the African voyage of Servetus; to which it has clearly nothing to say. But how, may we naturally ask, came the *pupil* and *redacteur* of Mosheim, and the professed historian of Servetus, to be ignorant of the *direct testimony* of Lubinietski to the point at issue, cited above, by the author of the Reflections, from the very same page 96.?

P. S. While the proof of this sheet was at the press, I unexpectedly succeeded in tracing the authorship of the “Reflections;” which prove to be a translation from the “Dissertations Historiques” of the celebrated Mathurin Veyssiere La Croze. A Rotterdam, 1707. 12mo. — From the original, now before me, I add references: the order being different in the translation; which is otherwise very correct. “*Reflexions Hist. et Crit.*” pp. 99, 100. 42. 28. 55. 1. 18.

Note O. p. 105. l. 18.] The tendency of Mahometan heresy towards Christianity was signally illustrated, in the reign of Solymán I.; when a chief of the Ulemahs suffered martyrdom, rather than renounce his predilection for the Gospel. This memorable incident is thus related by M. D’Ohsson: “*Cabiz Efendy, déjà très-avancé dans le corps des Oulémas, esprit singulier, mais très-instruit, et possédant à fond la science du Cour’ann et celle de l’Evangile, aimoit les Chrétiens, les admettoit chez lui, et se plaisoit à parler de la pureté des dogmes, et de la sublimité de la morale Chrétienne. Il disoit ouvertement à des Oulémas même, que Jésus Christ étoit très-supérieur à Mohammed, et l’Evangile fort au-dessus du Cour’ann. Il combattoit encore différens points de la religion Mahométane, par des passages de l’ancien et du nouveau Testament. Cette conduite fit le plus*

grand bruit dans Constantinople. Tous les Oulémas se soulèvent ; on arrête le nouvel hérésiarque ; on le cite au Divan dans le Sérail même, le 7 Safer 933. (15 Nov. 1526), pour y subir un interrogatoire devant le Grand-Vizier Ibrahim Pascha et les deux Cazi-askers, qui sont les premiers magistrats de l'empire. — Ils commencent l'interrogatoire en ordonnant à l'accusé d'exposer sa foi et sa croyance. Cabiz Efendy s'en acquitta du ton le plus ferme et le plus assuré. Il parla des principaux dogmes de l'Islamisme comme contraires au Cour'ann, dont il cita une infinité de passages, auxquels il donnoit une interprétation bien différente de celle des Imams commentateurs : il prétendoit que tout avoit été falsifié, et que le Cour'ann, *fondé, en grande partie, sur la Bible et sur l'Evangile*, respectés par l'Islamisme même comme des livres divins, s'écartoit de l'esprit de ces deux premiers codes, qui contenoient également les commandemens de Dieu pour tous les peuples de la terre. Les deux juges, hors d'état de réfuter les assertions si savamment et si hardiment exposées par Cabiz Efendy, le déclarent, sans autre examen, infidèle et impie, et comme tel, le condamnent à mort, et accompagnent ce jugement de mille injures et de mille imprecations.

The Grand Vizier, the Divan, and the Sultan himself, who secretly assisted at the trial, were shocked and indignant at the severity and intemperance of the judges. Solyman ordered the cause to be re-tried by the Mufti and the Istambol Cadissy : “ Cabiz Efendy soutint devant ses nouveaux juges un nouvel interrogatoire, auquel il répondit avec la même fermeté et la même assurance que la veille. Il exposa derechef sa foi et sa croyance, avec les autorités et les explications qu'il avoit déjà données aux différens points de la doctrine et du culte de l'Islamisme. Le Mouphty les combattit tous, article par article, réfutant les principes de Cabiz Efendy, et appuyant son assertion sur différens passages du Cour'ann et de la Bible, et sur les glosses des commentateurs les plus estimés de la loi Mahométane. La vérité, dit ici l'auteur national, ne peut enfin que triompher de tous les sophismes de ce nouvel hérésiarque, qui, la veille invincible, fut alors terrassé et réduit au silence. Ainsi, ajoute le même auteur, convaincu légalement et théologiquement de ses erreurs, le Mouphty l'exhorta à les abjurer, à en demander pardon à Dieu, et à rentrer sincèrement dans le sein de l'Islamisme, en renouvelant la profession de foi. *Mais rien ne fut capable d'ébranler Cabiz Efendy.* Ferme dans ses principes, il déclara, *qu'il ne trahiroit jamais sa croyance et sa conviction ; sentimens dans lesquels il vouloit vivre et mourir.* Après de nouvelles tentatives, également inutiles, de la part du Mouphty, ce chef suprême de la loi, dont la dignité n'exerce jamais aucun pouvoir judiciaire, signifia à l'Istambol Cadissy (to the Turkish Inquisitor, i. e. to the secular arm) qu'il pouvoit user des droits de son autorité magistrale, et prononcer formellement la sentence de mort contre l'accusé, comme impie, infidèle, et apostat de la foi Musulmane. L'arrêt signé fut à l'instant mis à exécution ; et l'infortuné Cabiz Efendy

eut la tête tranchée dans le Sérail même." Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman, tom. i. pp. 156—159.

A few more *such* arch-heretics as this noble Turk, might shake to its foundations the tottering cause of the Koran. And what Mahometanism has once produced, it may produce again.

Note 3. p. 107.] Compare section vi. vol. i. pp. 389, 390. The analogy with Judaism and Christianity, on the questions of fate and free-will, is stated by Mahometan writers themselves. Cf. Sale, P. D. p. 223, note 6., for the recognition of the parallel by a learned Moor. By the kindness of a friend, the author is enabled to quote the original testimony of Ahmed Ebn Abdalla, from the MS. copy of his letter, belonging to Mr. Sale; now before him in Mr. S.'s beautiful handwriting: — "De libero arbitrio aperiam quid sentiamus Mauri. Qua de re quamvis variæ sint sententiæ, præcipuæ tamen sunt tres, Cadarias, Jeberias, et Zunis. *Maxima pars Christianorum et Judæorum videtur accedere ad Cadarias opinionem.*" Ep. Ahmet Benandala, P. S. p. 63. Although Mr. Sale seems to have known only of Mr. Selden's MS. copy of this letter, in the Bodleian library, of which his own appears to be a transcript, — the tract was *printed* in Switzerland, under the title of "Mohammedica; sive Dissertatio Epistolaris, per Achmet Benabdalla, Eruditum Maurum. Altdorfii. 1700." A copy of this *rare* edition is in the British Museum. Nor was this the only impression. "Cette lettre a été imprimée à Rostock, l'an 1705, avec des notes de Zacharie Grapius." La Croze, Reflex. Hist. et Crit. p. 48.

Note 4. p. 108.] Compare Section xiii. pp. 286—298.

Note 5. p. 109.] Compare Section vi. vol. i. pp. 385—389.

Note 6. p. 109.] See Leslie's Works, vol. i. p. 207., for the celebrated address of the English Unitarians, in the reign of Charles II., to Ameth Ben Ameth, ambassador from the Emperor of Morocco. "Ce qui distingue le Socinianisme de la religion Mahometane, *est si imperceptible*, qu'il n'y a que des intérêts humains, qui puissent retenir dans sa secte un Socinien bien instruit." La Croze, Reflexions sur le Mahom. et le Socin. ap. Diss. Hist. p. 134.

Note 7. p. 110.] For the tenets of the Sefatians, Conf. Pocock, Spec. pp. 19—21. 225—233.; and Sale, Prel. Disc. pp. 218—230.

SECTION X. VOL. II.

Note 1. p. 115.] See Ockley, Gibbon, and White. The sixth and seventh centuries appear in equally dark colouring, in the pages of the Byzantine, and of the Latin, historians of the period.

The double apostasy is thus noticed by Bishop Berkeley: "Anciently most unchristian schisms and disputes, joined with great corruption of manners, made way for the Mahometan in the East, and the papal domi-

nion in the West." A Sermon, preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Works, v. iii. p. 252. ed. 8vo.

Note 2. p. 117.] M. D'Ohsson has strongly drawn the inseparable union, under Islamism, of the spiritual and temporal powers: "Nous commençons par le code de la religion, parce qu'elle a été le premier glaive du fondateur de l'Islamisme, et qu'elle a servi de base à l'édifice de sa puissance, de celle des *Khalifhes* ses successeurs, et de tous les monarques Mahométans. C'est sur elle que roule encore aujourd'hui toute la constitution de l'empire Othoman. Les souverains, respectés comme successeurs légitimes à l'ancienne puissance des *Khalifhes*, y réunissent les deux glaives, les droits du sacerdoce et ceux du pouvoir suprême. Ils n'occupent le trône pontifical, et ne règnent que d'après les lois canoniques, toutes dictées et sanctionnées par la religion." Tabl. de l'Emp. Oth. tome i. pp. 55, 56. The parallel with the Papacy is only too obvious.

"Le trône papal a plus d'obligation qu'on ne pense, à Mahomet, et à ses successeurs. Mais, pour affermir dans l'occident un empire, où le temporel se fondait sur le spirituel, le Pape avait besoin," &c. M. C. Villers, Essai sur la Réform. de Luther, p. 402. à Paris, 1820.

Note O. p. 119. l. 19.] "Thomas-à-Kempis."—"The historian Somaglio attests, (according to M. G. de Grégory, 'Memoir upon the true Author,') that a brother Jesuit being at Algiers for the redemption of slaves, the Dey showed him 'The Imitation,' printed in the Turkish language,—adding, that 'he valued it more than the *Koran*.' " Dibdin's 'Imitation, &c.' p. xxxi. Editor's Preface.

If the evidence of two *Jesuits* be conceived sufficient to establish the above anecdote, it may be added, as a valuable accession to Section V. of this work, in illustration of the moral capabilities of Islamism.

Note 3. p. 120.] "La qualité de Catholique Romain avait tout-à-fait remplacé celle d'homme, et même de Chrétien. Qui n'était pas Catholique Romain, n'était pas homme, était moins qu'homme; et eût-il été un souverain, c'était une bonne action que de lui ôter la vie. Voici quel était, à cet égard, le langage ordinaire des casuistes de Rome. Je cite, au hasard, les paroles d'un d'entre eux: '*Ostendimus jam satis apertè, justum esse ut hæreticus occidatur; quo autem genere mortis sit occidendus, parùm ad rem facit. NAM QUOCUNQUE MODO OCCIDATUR, SEMPER CONSULTUR ECCLESIAE.* Alphonsus A Castro, de justâ Hæreticorum punitione, l. 2. cap. 12.'—Ce Castro écrivait dans un temps, où la réformation commencée aurait dû cependant apprendre aux gens de sa robe à être plus circonspects. Le Pape Urban II. avait déjà dit: '*Non eos homicidas arbitramur, quos adversus excommunicatos zelo Catholicæ matris ardentes, aliquos eorum trucidasse contigerit.*' Ap. Gratianum, caus. xxiii. qu. 5. cap. Excommunicatorum. On remplirait des volumes de passages semblables; et l'on se rappelle, en les lisant, l'horrible joie que fit éclater la cour de Rome, à la nouvelle du

massacre de la Saint Barthélemy, les fêtes, les processions, les actions de grâces, que le Pape ordonna, la médaille qu'il fit frapper, enfin le tableau qu'il commanda à *Vasari* de faire sur cet événement déplorable, dont *la cour de Rome a pu se réjouir*, mais dont l'humanité portera éternellement le deuil." — Villers, *Essai sur la Réform. de Luther*, pp. 56—58. *note 2.*; and cf. pp. 187, 188.

But it is said, the court of Rome has *changed*. On this subject, compare Note 9. of this section, *infra*.

Note 0. p. 124. l. 15.] "Le Vicaire de Jésus-Christ étalait avec assurance ses droits incontestables sur toutes les couronnes et sur tout le globe. Il distribuait l'Amérique à mesure qu'on la découvrait, *et même avant qu'on la découvrit*." Villers, *Réf. de Luth.* p. 55: cf. the papal bull (*Bullar. Magn. t. i. p. 454.*) there cited *ad calc.*

Note 4. p. 124.] See *Decline and Fall*, vol. 9. pp. 483, 484.; x. p. 21.; and cf. xi. 451.

Note 5. p. 125.] "L'homme lay, quand il ot medire de la loy Chrestienne, ne doit pas deffendre la loy ne mais que de l'espée, de quoi il doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y peut entrer." Joinville, *Histoire de S. Louis*, p. 12.

Note 6. p. 126.] For the authority of the fourth council of Lateran among Romanists, and the unrepealed force, especially, of this persecuting canon, see the able argument of Bishop Copleston, in the final note to "A Sermon, preached in the Cathedral Church of Chester, on Sunday, November 5. 1826." Upon this subject, and upon others equally interesting to the Protestant community, a full and able exposure of the subterfuges and reservations of the church of Rome, may also be found in "Remarks, &c." by the Rev. C. R. Elrington, D. D., now Regius Professor of Divinity, in the University of Dublin.

On the subject of Romish persecution, the Bishop of Llandaff speaks the whole good sense of the debate: "It is needless, surely, for any practical purpose, to hunt out a few sentences imbedded in the voluminous acts of councils, or to show that, by necessary deduction, these passages speak the deliberate sense and doctrine of that church, when we have the imperishable records of ages, *the living voice of history*, which *never was*, and *never can be*, disputed, attesting the same facts." *Ut sup.* p. 31.

Even the merciless bigotry of Philip II. was *lashed up* to the persecutions in the Netherlands, by the voice of the Roman Pontiff: "Quelques sages conseillers de ce prince l'engageaient à des mesures plus douces et plus salutaires envers les Bataves; peut-être les eût-il adoptées, *sans les conseils opposés et violens du Pape Pie V., qui le porta même à charger de l'expédition l'exécrable et féroce duc D'Albe*." For this signal service to the church of Rome, Pope Pius V. was, *in the eighteenth century*, canonized by one of the mildest and most learned of his successors: "C'est Clement XI. lui-même qui loue Pie V., en le canonisant, de ce grand

zèle pour le maintien de la foi. La bulle de canonisation est du 22 Mai 1712." Villers, p. 162. note 1. Compare Note 9. infra.

Note 7. p. 127.] See Dr. Elrington's "Remarks," p. 75.

Note 8. p. 127.] The mysteries of Romish casuistry are unfathomable: but, for practical uses, they have been sounded sufficiently in the "Lettres Provinciales."

Note 9. p. 127.] "Unchangeable character of the Romish superstition." By political apologists it has been plausibly alleged, that, with the progress of the world, the church of Rome also has changed for the better. The opinion has all the merit of originality in its favour: for it has, assuredly, been dictated, neither by observation of the present, nor by experience of the past. The church of Rome may, indeed, modify its practice, to meet times and circumstances; but its principles and spirit it cannot change. Such is the judgment of a writer of acknowledged enlargement of view; who has thoroughly examined, and philosophized upon, his subject; and whose conclusions have been affirmed by the public voice, both on the continent, and in these countries:

"L'esprit du papisme," remarks M. Villers, "est exclusif et intolérant, il faut le dire: or, *l'esprit d'une institution ne peut cesser d'agir, QUE CETTE INSTITUTION NE CESSE.* — Les Papes, plus avisés depuis la réformation, affaiblis, presque nuls, ont cédé forcément en diverses rencontres; MAIS C'EST LE POUVOIR QUI LEUR A MANQUÉ, ET NON LA BONNE VOLONTÉ. On a souvent tenté de réunir l'Eglise réformée à l'Eglise Romaine: celle-ci a rendu vaines toutes ces tentatives, en ne voulant rien relâcher de ses prétentions. — Bossuet y déploya toute son éloquence, mais aussi toute l'inflexibilité de son génie et celle de son église. Il ne pouvait être, selon lui, nullement question d'accommodement, mais seulement de soumission. Quand on considère quel langage hautain et violent tint alors un homme aussi éclairé qu'était Bossuet, on ne peut s'empêcher de penser que, si peut-être l'on rendait au clergé Romain son pouvoir et ses richesses, ON LE REVERRAIT FANATIQUE ET PERSÉCUTEUR COMME PAR LE PASSÉ." Essai sur la Réform. de Luther, pp. 90 — 92.

It is highly important, in this connection, to mark the coincidence between the conclusions of the French philosopher, and those of a British statesman. The following extract is taken from a document, which, though still fresh in the public mind, has, from the compass and accuracy of its research, already become an historical authority: "From the tyranny over the human mind, thus exercised by the church of Rome, wherever it has power, I draw this conclusion, that to give it new power any where would be most unsafe: and if it were given on the ground *that the church of Rome has changed its character*, would be most contrary to the evidence of facts. It has still the same grasping, dominant, exclusive, and intolérant character: it is weaker, indeed, than it was; but it carries with it every where the same mind. You have, indeed, shorn and bound the strong

man ; but the secret of his strength is still upon him ; and if, from whatever motive, you admit him into the sanctuary of your temple, beware, lest the place and the opportunity should call that strength into action ; and, with all the original energies of his might restored for the occasion, he should pull down the temple of the constitution upon you, and bury you, and your idols, and himself, in one common ruin." Substance of Two Speeches, by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart. p. 35. London, 1828.

Upon the subject of this note, the author would refer generally to the irrefragable authorities accumulated by M. Villers and Sir R. H. Inglis.

But, while Rome has in no wise altered its principles, it has *varied and qualified* its practice to suit all contingencies whatsoever ; a policy which has too often lulled its opponents fatally to sleep, where it ought to have doubled their vigilance and their apprehensions. Perhaps no where is this feature of Romanism more powerfully or instructively exposed, than in the pages of the Essay on the Reformation : " Les Papes," says M. Villers, " savaient céder quelquefois, et ployer quand la nécessité les y contraignait ; mais ils changeaient de ton *le moins qu'il leur était possible*, espérant toujours *qu'un meilleur temps reviendrait*, un temps de bigotisme et de ténèbres, où ils pourraient déployer dans toute sa magnificence leur opiniâtre système de *Lamaïsme*." p. 54. And again : " On en vit encore, après ce coup terrible [the Reformation], rappeler un instant au monde Chrétien l'orgueil de *Hildebrand* et les vices de *Borgia*. Mais enfin le temps, et la dure expérience, les ont éclairés sur leur véritable position : ils se sont résignés, *au moins dans la pratique*, au rôle d'humilité et de *souplesse*, devenu désormais leur partage devant les puissances de la terre." Ib. p. 104.

It behoves us to mark well the first-fruits of this altered policy, in the immediate rise of an instrumentality adapted, at all points, to the crisis : an instrumentality more effectual, perhaps more deadly, than the fires of persecution. It is thus M. Villers describes this new power : " C'est aux mêmes motifs qu'on doit attribuer l'élévation rapide et le crédit immense du nouvel ordre des JESUITES, qui, né à coté du protestantisme et dans le même temps, fut destiné, dès sa naissance, à le combattre, et à le contre-balancer. Ces nouveaux soldats de l'Eglise, constitués d'une manière plus redoutable que l'armée des mendiants érigée dans des siècles barbares, et *inventeurs d'une tactique bien plus convenable à l'esprit du nouveau siècle*, firent pour l'Eglise affaiblie tout ce qu'on peut attendre de forces humaines, dirigées par la plus profonde prudence, la zèle, la persévérance, le génie, et la réunion de tous les talens. Ils s'emparèrent des cours, des peuples, des confessionnaux, des chaires, de l'éducation de la jeunesse, des missions et des déserts des deux mondes. Rien ne leur parut impossible pour étendre la domination du Saint-Siège aux lieux où elle n'existait pas, et pour la consolider là où elle avait été maintenue. — Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de déduire en détail tout ce qu'a produit de mouvemens dans la poli-

tique de l'Europe cette société célèbre, dont l'influence n'a été due qu'à la réaction du Catholicisme [Romain] contre la réforme. Il suffit de dire que, si cette dernière eût par succomber et éprouver une contre-révolution, *les jésuites sans doute eussent opéré ce grand œuvre.*" Id. ib. pp. 107—109.

Attention is called to these facts of papal history, with no invidious purpose. But the reasoning seems to be short-sighted indeed, which would argue that *that church* which produced the Jesuits, as a counterpoise to the Reformation, in its first stages, and which, I will not say with what object, has lately resuscitated that society, is unequal to the production, in every season, of agents equally qualified to maintain its interests, and extend its influences, under whatever emergencies or oppositions.

M. Villers has stated the issue, in the 17th century, of a project for the union of the Gallican and English churches, and the conduct of Bossuet in that hollow negotiation. It was reserved for the 19th century, to hear a Roman Catholic Bishop avow, that, rather than assent to such a union, "he would be tempted to *remove the cross, and set up the crescent.*" See Dr. Elrington, "Remarks, &c." p. 84. After this *felo-de-se* declaration, Christian courtesy cannot require one word of apology, for the full exposure, in this section, of the parallel between Popery and Mahometanism.

Note 10. p. 130.] Villers, pp. 187. 425, 426. The comparative *toleration* in Roman Catholic and in Protestant states, has been set in a just light by this impartial writer: "Les princes et états Protestans profitèrent tous plus ou moins des bras et de l'industrie d'une multitude de *proscrits*, qui émigraient des pays Catholiques où on les persécutait; — tandis que les Catholiques, tranquilles et tolérés sous la domination des Protestans, ne songèrent jamais à quitter et à appauvrir leur patrie." Essai, p. 132. In a publication already referred to, the contrast is illustrated, by a case which should silence casuistry, — the example of free SWITZERLAND: "In the Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland, with the exception of Soleure, and a late addition to Fribourg, the Roman Catholic religion is the exclusive religion of the state. Even in the democratic cantons, the cradle of Swiss liberty, 'the Catholic faith is the exclusive religion of these cantons: *none other is tolerated.*' In all the cantons in which *Protestantism* is dominant, *the Roman Catholics are free.*" Sir R. H. Inglis, p. 146.

Note 11. p. 132.] Among the fathers, S. Gregory Nyssen is *classical* on Pilgrimage. His letter on this subject is not a favourite with Roman Catholics. See also S. Hieron. ad Paulin. ep. 49. [al. 13.]

Note 12. p. 133.] The invocation, also, of saints, is carried quite as far among Mahometans, as among Romanists; especially in the sect of Shiites. For curious illustrations of this doctrine, see "Description des Monumens Musulmans," tome ii. pp. 142—192. Prayers to their favourite saints, are among the most common inscriptions on the rings and signets of Musulmans. A specimen or two of this analogy with Popery shall be added.

اللهم بجاه الحسين بن علي
احفظ عبدك حسين بن علي بك

O mon Dieu, par les mérites de Hosséin, fils d'Ali,
Protège ton serviteur Hosséin, fils d'Ali-bey !

Reinaud, Mon. Mus. t. ii. p. 177.

Invoque Ali, objet des plus grandes merveilles,

Tu le trouveras une ressource dans les malheurs :

Oui, tous les maux et toutes les peines seront dissipés

Par ta protection, ô Ali, ô Ali, ô Ali !

Id. ib. p. 168.

The *image-worship* of Popery, on the contrary, receives as little countenance from Islamism (see D'Ohsson, t. ii. p. 169.), as that of the Greeks experienced from Leo and the Iconoclasts themselves. Indeed, John of Jerusalem, a monkish writer of the eighth century, in a philippic reproaching the *heresy* of the image-breakers (κατηγόρων και εικονομαχών αίρεσις) directly traces its rise to the agency of Mahometanism ; which thus operated to purify even the Christian church from idolatrous superstition. Cf. Johann. Hierosolym. Narrat. ap. Galland. Bibl. Vet. Patr. tom. xiii. pp. 270, 271.

The book of S. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons at the commencement of the ninth century, entitled " Liber contra eorum superstitionem, qui picturis et imaginibus sanctorum adorationis obsequium deferendum putant," is a sad stumbling-block in the way of Romanists. See Galland, B. V. P. tom. xiii. pp. 457—468. The authority of this Father being acknowledged by his church, the learned editor felt it proper to clear him from the charge of impugning its doctrine. His argument is a *weighty* one, for he brings no less than five testimonies, against the only testimony opposed to him : " Scripta Agobardi recensent Dupinius et Cavæus : qui tamen *iniquior* est aliquanto in eum, *propter libellum de Picturis et Imaginibus*. Cum enim *ceteri omnes*, Massonum puta, Baluzium, Raynaudum, Mabillonium, Cointium, aliosque *emunctæ profecto naris* homines, Agobardi dicta *emolliri*, ac in *bonum sensum* accipi posse contendunt ; Cavæus *solus* in alia omnia abiisse maluit." Galland. t. xiii. Proleg. c. xx. p. xiii.

There is a slight flaw in this argument : its *five* props are *papists* ; its one opponent, a *protestant*. But its author is, of course, *emunctæ naris homo*.

The protestant reader will be at no loss to understand how the work of S. Agobard must hamper Roman Catholics, and how necessary the task of explaining away his meaning, — when it is considered that his " *Libellus*" is, in fact, a connected series of authorities from ancient *Fathers* and *Popes*, against the growing superstition ; including the illustrious

names of Saint AUGUSTIN, Saint JEROME, Pope GREGORY the Great, Pope SYLVESTER I., Pope LEO the Great, and our venerable BEDE.

Note 13. p. 135.] The analogy of the Papal and Mussulman "Orders," and their corresponding effects, are thus described in the *Essay of M. Villers on the Reformation*: "Qu'est-ce qui retient, depuis plusieurs siècles, nos voisins les Ottomans, avec qui nous avons d'ailleurs tant de relations de commerce, dans une barbarie, pareille à celle des nations Chrétiennes pendant le moyen âge? C'est la superstition religieuse, ce sont leurs *Muftis*, leurs *Fakirs*, leurs *Dervis*, lesquels entretiennent parmi eux la haine des vraies lumières et de la philosophie. Nous autres occidentaux avions assez de *pareils opposans*; et, plus intolérans que les orientaux, nous avions encore de plus qu'eux *l'Inquisition*, dont, sans la réformation, nous aurions vu, peut-être jusqu'à nos jours, le règne terrible se perpétuer. Beau chemin vers un meilleur état de choses!" pp. 98, 99.

"*Peut-être jusqu'à nos jours.*" M. Villers might have spared the qualification: "The pope," says the authority transmitted by the British minister (from Switzerland) to his government, "forgetting what he owes to protestant princes, has re-established the jesuits, and the *Inquisition*, and laughs at the liberties opposed to his own ultra-montane principles." Sir R. H. Inglis, pp. 146, 147.

SECTION XI. VOL. II.

Note 1. p. 143.] See note (*) p. 153. of this section. M. Villers styles the Turk, "irréconcilable ennemi de toute la Chrétienté." p. 135.

Note 2. p. 147.] Dr. Robertson's facts are, at least, as good authorities as his theories: "Many of the persons who distinguished themselves in science, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were educated among the Arabians. Almost all the men eminent for science during several centuries, if they did not resort in person to the schools in Africa and Spain, were instructed in the philosophy of the Arabians." *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 389. How largely the crusades operated in extending this inter-communication, is historically notorious.

Note 3. p. 148.] It is strangely inconsistent reasoning which would deny political motives in the popes, at least, in their encouragement of the crusades, while all authorities agree in ascribing the gigantic growth of the papal power itself, altogether, to the consummate policy of the church and court of Rome. M. Villers has seen and represented the matter in the just light: "Dans un armement de toute la Chrétienté, on sent bien que le Pape, reconnu pour le chef suprême de cette armée sainte, où tout guerrier s'enrôlait comme soldat de l'Eglise, ne put que trouver un accroissement à son autorité." *Essai sur la Réf. de Luth.* p. 414.

Note 4. p. 151.] For a masterly assertion of the defensive policy of

the crusades, the reader is referred to the pages of Mr. Sharon Turner. See *History of England during the Middle Ages*, vol. i. pp. 302, &c.

Note 5. p. 185.] The invidious eloquence of Mr. Gibbon has failed to disguise the genuineness of Peter's character, and the magnanimity of his mind. His artful portrait of the hermit is virtually a panegyric: — "His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries, and the oppression of the Christian name; he mingled his tears with those of the patriarch, and earnestly inquired, if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the East. The patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of the successors of Constantine. 'I will rouse,' exclaimed the hermit, 'the martial nations of Europe in your cause;' and Europe was obedient to the call of the hermit.—His stature was small, his appearance contemptible; but his eye was keen and lively; and he possessed that vehemence of speech, which seldom fails to impart the persuasion of the soul. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour.—The most perfect orator of Athens might have envied the success of his eloquence: the rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt; and Christendom expected with impatience the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff." *Decline and Fall*, vol. xi. ch. lviii. ad init.

He who could himself thus feel and conceive, and who could thus impart his persuasion and conceptions to others, must, had he only been a Turk or a heathen, in the dialect of Mr. Gibbon, have been a great man.

Note 6. p. 195.] "Le coup d'essai de l'horrible Inquisition fut le carnage de plusieurs milliers d'*Albigéois* et autres Chrétiens, qui, dans leur simplicité, s'imaginaient qu'ils pouvaient croire au Christ, sans croire aux Papes; et la dévastation des états du Comte Raymond de Toulouse, qui les y avait tolérés. On vit alors l'institution des Croisades, détournée de sa première direction, employée par les Papes à armer Chrétiens, contre Chrétiens." Villers, p. 417. For the exploits of the Teutonic Knights against the pagan enemies of Rome and Christianity, compare *id. ib.* p. 93. note.

Note 7. p. 199.] The reader needs hardly be reminded, at this advanced stage, of the peculiar value of this double coincidence. The ecclesiastical metropolis of Judaism, and that of eastern Christendom, were objects, before all others, fitted to bring to its close the prophetic conflict between the great spiritual families of Isaac and Ishmael.

SECTION XII. Vol. II.

Note 1. p. 201.] Compare p. 461. *supr.* note 10.

Note 2. p. 210.] This common and peculiar action of the two creeds,

upon the nations which severally profess them, is easily explained, when we reflect, that Christian states, and Mahometan states, are, in a sense inapplicable to any others, ancient or modern, respectively bound together in their civil relations, by the ties of religious belief. Among heathens, whether Greeks, Romans, or barbarians, religion never constituted a bond of international union.

Note 3. p. 214.] “Quedaba un vacío considerable de tiempo, ignorándose el sistema de labranza y crianza que observaban los Arabes en España, mientras dominaron en algunas partes de la península. Sabiase que introduxéron entre nosotros la seda, el algodón, el azúcar, el arroz y muchas especies de semillas, legumbres, hortalizas y frutales: el riego y distribución de las aguas, y el modo de preparar varias especies de abonos para fecundizar las tierras; mas se ignoraba la verdadera forma de las labores que las daban.

“Esto es lo que declara en el método mas sucinto *Abu Zacaría Ebn el Awam* Sevillano, en su libro de *Agricultura* que tengo la honra de presentar á v. m. y cuya lectura derramará en el reyno grandes y provechosas luces con que mejorar en muchas partes el cultivo, y restablecer la abundancia que experimentaban los Arabes Españolas, y á que es tan propenso el suelo de la península.”

Don J. A. Banqueri, from lett. dedicat. to king of Spain, prefixed to كتاب الفلاحة. “Libro de Agricultura.” Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, Año de 1802.

“Florencia el cultivo de los Arabes en las provincias meridionales de España, en cuya península introduxéron los Musulmanes muchos frutos y árboles del oriente y de Africa, que no eran conocidos en la edad en que floreció Columela.” El Conde de Campománes, Censura de la Obra de Abu Zaccaria, p. 3.

The practical and experimental character of the Arabian genius appears throughout this work; according to the announcement of the author in his preface ولم اثبت فيه شيا من رأي الا ما دريته مرارا فصيح

“Ninguna sentencia establezco en mi Obra, que yo no haya probado por la experiencia repetidas veces.” Prologo del Autor, p. 10.

“La consideracion de ser esta obra la suma completa de agricultura de la media edad, y de haber hecho los Arabes Españoles maravillosos progresos en el cultivo del campo, llevando esta ciencia á un alto grado de perfeccion, á que apenas podemos nosotros lisonjearnos de haber llegado todavía; bastaria para recomendar su mérito, utilidad, é importancia.” Discurso Preliminar del Traductor, p. 8.

Spain affords us a melancholy opportunity of estimating the relative civil and mental influences of *Popery* and *Islamism*. And the intellectual

darkness, the moral degradation, the reduced census, and the universal decay of industry, manufactures, and commerce, in Roman Catholic Spain, from the date of the expulsion of the Moors, remain an instructive record of the *benefits* which the church of Rome would have conferred on all the nations of Europe, had not the Reformation interposed to break the spell of papal supremacy.

Note 4. p. 217.] To open and improve the facilities of internal communication is recognized both by theorists and by practical statesmen, in this age of political economy, as among the first great measures for effecting, or for advancing, the civilization of any country. But the Romans themselves scarcely excelled the Arabs in this civil department. And modern Europe, which received its first lessons in it from the Saracens, in the tenth and following centuries, perhaps might still profit by attention to those lessons, in the nineteenth. An unemployed population is the curse of some of the most favoured districts of the West. Whence, then, does it arise, amidst all our boasted accessions of knowledge in civil affairs, that we are no longer able to convert a surplus stock of hands, into what it ought to be in every civilized country, a source of national profit and improvement? The declension cannot justly be ascribed to the influence either of despotism or of freedom; for, in modern times, it is nearly the same in arbitrary and in free states. In this, and in other particulars, our presumption would be healthfully checked, if we were more in the habit of reverting to the forgotten wisdom of former times.

Note 5. p. 219.] See the preceding note. In the police department, the European nations have, however, made effectual use of the instructions communicated by their Arabian teachers.

Note O. p. 220. l. 24.] The Arabian geographers mention an Arab colony, north of Derbend, towards the Volga, settled there in the eighth century of our era: this colony apparently subsists to the present day. See "*Des Peuples du Caucase*," pp. 30, 31., and note xxii. p. 186. by the learned and ingenious editor, M. C. D'Ohsson.

Note O. p. 230. l. 23.] By the learned editor of the "*Rer. Arab. Collectio, quæ ad Hist. Siculam spectant*," the author is now enabled to correct the received opinion, that the silk manufacture was *first* introduced into the island by Roger: — "*Cæteras etiam optimas artes tunc floruisse [in Sicilia] patet ex Pallio Norimbergensi anni 1133. Ex eo enim inferitur, serici opificium Arabibus Siculis familiare fuisse, antequam id genus opificii ex Athenis et Thebis aliisque Græciæ locis devictis Rogerius Rex Panormum anno 1148, transtulisset.*" Rosar. Gregor. *Rer. Arab. Sic.* p. 236. For some account of the *Nurembergh cloak* here referred to, compare pp. 174, 175.

Note O. p. 240. l. 29.] The following *Roman Catholic* testimony will illustrate the statement in the text, respecting the conduct of the Portu-

guese towards the unhappy Mussulman population of Africa and India : " Il est certain que les Isles de Quirinha ont esté autrefois habitées par les Arabes, comme l'on voit evidemment aux ruines des maisons et des mosquées, qui ont esté basties, *par des gens moins barbares que ceux qui y demeurent aujourd'hui*, de chaux, de pierre, et de brique, comme estoient les villes de Quiloa, de Mombaça, et de Melinde. Mais quelques années apres que l'on commença à continuer cette navigation, la haine naturelle [Romaniste ?], et l'aversion que les soldats et mariniers Portugais ont pour tous les Mahometans, fit qu'ils ne se contenterent pas de les piller, de brusler et d'abattre leurs maisons et leurs Mosquées, *mais par une rage plus que barbare ils les firent tous passer au fil de l'espee, sans pardonner à âge ou à sexe* ; en sorte qu'encore aujourd'hui parmy les Mestes, qui se trouvent en ces Isles de Cafres, l'on parle continuellement de cette cruauté par tradition." L'Ambassade de D. Garcia de Silva Figueroa en Perse, trad. de l'Espagnol. p. 423. A Paris, 1667.

We should search the annals of Mahometanism in vain, for a parallel for this *Romish* expedient, in the propagation of their faith. Surely to the spiritual tyranny which abetted and gave birth to such procedures, the denunciation of the *Apostle of the Gentiles* fearfully applies : *Αλλα και εαν ημεις, η αγγελος εξ ουρανου ευαγγελιζηται υμιν παρ' ο ευηγγελισαμεθα υμιν, αναθεμα εστω.* Gal. i. 8.

The testimony of a French authority, to the very different course pursued by the Mahometans in India, will heighten, if any thing could heighten, the effect of the foregoing extract : " Presque tous ceux qui ont parlé de la religion Mahométane, nous ont dit qu'elle s'est établie par les armes, et qu'elle ne se conserve que par la violence. *Ily a de l'injustice dans cette accusation.* — La religion Mahométane a fait de grand progrès dans les Indes, même depuis la venue des Portugais en ces lieux-la ; ce qu'on ne peut attribuer qu'au soin que les missionnaires Arabes et Persans ont eu, de mettre leur Alcoran entre les mains des peuples, et de leur en procurer l'intelligence." M. V. La Croze, Hist. du Christ. des Indes, t. ii. pp. 364—369.

What a transition this ! Mahometanism propagated peacefully by the preaching of the Koran : Christianity, so termed, promulgated by the fire-brand and the sword !

Note 6. p. 243.] See Asiatic Researches, vol. i. pp. 288—294., for Mr. Wilkins's account of his visit, in 1780, 1781, to the Seekes, a sect of Hindu theists at Patna ; and compare vol. vii. pp. 453, 454. note.

Note 7. p. 244.] " In Hindustán, the Hindus being mixed with the Mohammedans, their religion, also, abounds with many prejudices, and is not strictly observed ; whereas, in Nepal, where there are no Muselmans, the Hindu religion is practised in its greatest purity." Account of Nepal, by Father Giuseppe, Prefect of the Roman Mission, ap. Asiat. Research.

vii. p. 307. The author has had similar accounts, from a highly intelligent British functionary.

Note 8. p. 244.] "The Mahometan religion is now in a very declining state in India. By which it is not to be understood, that this religion is less general there, than formerly, but that *the real spirit of it is very much extinct*; and that the enthusiasm formerly communicated by it to its followers, no longer exists, in the greater part of British India. I would account for this decline in *two* ways.

"*First*, by the efficacy of the British government; which makes the lower classes independent of the higher, and allows for all, liberty of conscience and action. From this it is, that the mass of Mussulmans, more particularly those of the lower class, having no other check on their conduct than public opinion among themselves, have almost entirely neglected the most essential parts of *their* religion; such as prayer five times daily, ablutions, &c. &c.; and have, as it were by general, tacit agreement, indulged their own indolence and convenience, — now that the Mahometans of rank have not power over them. *This observation applies also to the Hindoos.*

"*Secondly*, from the wise and elevated policy of our government; in allowing a perfect freedom of faith, and in no wise interfering in religion, or wishing to impose their own on their subjects. The result of this conduct has been, to create perfect satisfaction in the minds of the natives, that their religion will not be meddled with; so that the higher classes among them are *not able* to alarm the others, with the idea of their creed being in danger; and the lower classes make use of this advantage, to indulge their indolence, and throw off all subjection to their superiors, in religious matters.

"We have but to make the experiment of encroaching upon the Mahometan religion, in order to perceive and feel a people in arms, from one end of India to the other, and to be made aware, that Mahometanism needs only be roused from its torpor by our interference, in order to re-appear before us, as at its first promulgation." Extract from a MS. communication, by the Friend alluded to in the preceding note.

Note 9. p. 245.] When writing the concluding paragraphs of this section, (1827.) I was unprepared to expect, within the next few months, a coincidence of judgment most gratifying in itself, and of great weight in confirming the anticipations, which, by the studies connected with my subject, I had been led to form, respecting the providential destinies of the British empire in India.

"It is not for us," says a distinguished Prelate, "curiously to pry into the hidden councils of the Almighty: it is not for us, presumptuously to fix the commencement of that reign of universal peace, — in the description of which the ancient prophets delighted to employ all the force of inspiration, — when the kingdom of Christ shall know no other

bounds, than those by which the habitable globe is circumscribed. But the Scriptures clearly point to a time, when 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea;' and he who believes, that the course of this world is ordered by the providence of God, who makes the rise and fall of empires subservient to his own designs; he who so believes, cannot but think that our country has been elevated to its present height of maritime power, in order to fulfil the same end, which, at the time of the first promulgation of the Gospel, was fulfilled by the Roman empire, — that of facilitating its communication to the remotest corners of the earth. Is there not something, in the very thought that our country has been so selected, which ought to raise us above ourselves? which ought to call forth all our dormant energies, and cause us to make ourselves the willing, and, as far as lies in our power, the certain instruments, of accomplishing the Almighty will, and of hastening on the 'kingdom of God and of his Christ?'” *Bishop of Lincoln's* [Dr. Kaye] *Address*, at the second annual meeting of the Society established in the diocese of Ely and University of Cambridge, in aid of the incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, held in the Town-Hall of Cambridge, on Thursday, December 6. 1827.

It may afford a rational satisfaction to every true British patriot, to find, in the sober estimate of such a mind, the existing prosperity of his country thus guaranteed, by its future prospects. The probabilities respecting this happy consummation may reasonably be expected to increase, in proportion to our national improvement, at home, in Christian goodness, and to our national manifestation, abroad, of calm, and wisely-directed, Christian zeal.

SECTION XIII. Vol. II.

Note O. p. 252. l. 6.] Since the body of this work was printed, and while the final notes are in the compositor's hands, the author has become aware of a source of useful information for the English reader, relative to Saracen Spain. The volume in question is entitled "The History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain," composed, partly by Professor Shakespear, of the Honourable East India Company's Military Seminary, and partly by the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne. Professor Shakespear's portion of the work is drawn entirely from MS. Arabic authorities; that executed by Mr. Horne, is after the "Bibliotheca Arabico-Escorialensis" of Casiri, and other standard works of more ordinary access. The Book professes only to illustrate "The Arabian Antiquities of Spain:" but both parts contain materials of great historical interest, and some that have novelty even for the Oriental student.

The "Historical Account of Cordova," including descriptions of the city and palace of Azhara, and of the celebrated mosque of Jerusalem, compiled by Mr. S. from Arabic MSS., deserves and will repay the atten-

tion of the inquiring reader. See pp. 262—285. And that of the kingdom and city of Granada, with a notice of the Alhambra, by Mr. Horne, also well merits perusal, from the copiousness, fidelity, and interest of its details. See pp. 187—201. Hist. Mahom. Emp. Spain, 4to. London, 1816. For the Mahometan architecture in India, see Bp. Heber's Journal, vol. ii. pp. 368. 378. "The entrance to the castle of Delhi, and its marble hall of audience," his accomplished eye judged superior to "any corresponding parts of Windsor."

Note 1. p. 268.] To the lasting reproach of English literature, no collection has yet been made of the works of ROGER BACON. The *Opus Majus* itself remained inedited, down to an advanced period in the eighteenth century; and such was the state of neglect into which the scattered MSS. in the public libraries had, by that time, fallen, that, when Doctor Samuel Jebb, in 1729, undertook its publication, several of those MSS. were found in a state of decay; nor did the libraries of the two English Universities (those of Cambridge were carefully searched by the brother of the editor, and by their mutual friend Mr. Law, afterward Bp. of Carlisle,) appear to furnish the necessary materials for a complete edition.

Under these difficulties, Dr. J. availed himself of the further aid of his brother, (Dr. John Jebb, afterwards Dean of Cashel,) on his removal to Ireland, in 1730, to procure a transcript of the MS. of the *Opus Majus*, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. J. collated and transcribed the whole; as appears from a correspondence on this subject, in the family papers, now in the possession of the Honourable Mr. Justice Jebb, with the perusal of which the author has been favoured. Of this MS., some account will be found, in the editor's preface to the published work.

By letters from John Anstis, Esq., of the Herald's Office, to Dr. S. Jebb, which occur in the same correspondence, it appears, that, in the preceding century, one of the greatest scholars that England ever produced, seriously meditated an edition of the Works of ROGER BACON. "Mr. Selden," writes Mr. Anstis, 12th May 1733, "had a design to have published the greatest part of his works; and had made collections for that purpose; which might probably be burnt with his MSS. that were lodged in Ram Alley, near the Temple, after his death." Mr. A., in another letter, notices the *peculiar* esteem, in which Friar Bacon and his works were held by the church of Rome and its satellites:—"In the late edition of Selden's works, at the latter end among his verses, on which he wrote notes, he mentions the driving nails through Frere Bacon's works, as suspected, without doubt, of *Magic*." Is it yet too late to look for a complete edition?

Note 2. p. 269.] "The merit of Alhazen's book on Optics was always admitted, but he was supposed to have borrowed much from Ptolemy, without acknowledging it; and the prejudices entertained in favour of a

Greek author, especially of one who had been for so many years a legislator in science, gave a false impression, both of the genius and the integrity of his modern rival. The work of Alhazen is, nevertheless, in many respects, *superior to that of Ptolemy*; and in nothing more than in the geometry which it employs. The problem known by his name, to find the point in a spherical speculum, at which a ray, coming from one given point, shall be reflected to another given point, is very well resolved in his book; though a problem of so much difficulty, that Montucla hazards the opinion, that no Arabian geometer was ever equal to the solution of it. It is now certain, however, that the solution, from whatever quarter it came, was not borrowed from Ptolemy; in whose work no mention is made of any such question. *And it may well be doubted, whether, had this problem been proposed to him, the Greek geometer would have appeared to as much advantage as the Arabian.* The account which the latter gives of the augmentation of the diameters of the heavenly bodies, near the horizon, has been already mentioned. He treated also of the refraction of light by transparent bodies, and particularly of the atmospheric refraction. —The anatomical structure of the eye was known to him; concerning the uses of the different parts, he had only conjectures to offer; but, on seeing single with two eyes, he made this very important remark, that, when corresponding parts of the retina are affected, we perceive but one object." Playfair, Suppl. Encycl. Brit. vol. ii. pp. 113, 114.

Note 3. p. 282.] Two medical works of Constantine Afer were published at Bale, in 1536, and 1539. The first entitled "*De Morborum Cognitione et Curatione, libri septem.*" The other treats of fevers, of the elephantiasis, of *incantations*, and of remedies taken from animal substances. The matter of both is thought to have been chiefly derived from his *Arabian* masters. Cf. Haller, Biblioth. Medicinæ, Eloy. Dict. Hist.

Note 0. p. 283.] The history of this memorable foundation is beautifully given, by Sozomen, in his account of S. Ephrem Syrus. The historian selects the anecdote to conclude with, as peculiarly deserving of commemoration, and as being the last act of Saint Ephrem's life.

A grievous famine, with all its inseparable evils, having befallen the city of Edessa, its venerable deacon, at the call of suffering humanity, came forth from the studious retirement of his cell; whither he had long withdrawn, that he might devote his latter days to meditation on the deep things of God. Filled with emotion, at sight of the misery which surrounded him, with the warmth of Christian charity, he reproved the rich men of Edessa, who suffered their fellow-citizens to perish from want and sickness; and who preferred their wealth, at once to the lives of others, and to the safety of their own souls. Stung by his reproaches, and awed by his reverent virtues, the citizens replied, that they cared not for their wealth; but that, in an age of selfishness and corruption, they knew not whom to intrust with

its distribution. "What," exclaimed the holy man, "is your opinion of me?" The answer was instant and unanimous: Ephrem was every thing that was holy, and good, and just. "Then," he resumed, "I will be your almoner. For your sakes, I will undertake this burthen." And receiving (proceeds Sozomen) their now willing contributions, he caused about three hundred beds to be placed in the public porticos of the city, for the reception of fever patients; he relieved, also, the famishing multitudes, who flocked into Edessa from the adjoining country; and rested not from his labour of love, until famine was arrested, "and the plague was stayed." Then, once more, he returned to the solitude of his beloved cell; and, in a few days after, breathed his last! See Sozomen, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 16.

How S. Ephrem acquired the influence which he so worthily employed, we may gather from the eloquent testimony of another great ancient: *τη γαρ τελειᾷ ακτημοσυνη, το παρεχειν τοις δεομενοις ουκ εχων, εν τω tous αλλους διεγειρειν προς ελεος, πυκναις παραινεσεσι, την ελεημοσυνην μετηρχετο. ην γαρ ὡς αληθως ὁ τουτου λογος, και διχα της οψεως, κλεισι θεοχαλκευτος, τους των πλουσιων θησαυρους διανοιγων, και τοις μετριοις τα δεοντα χορηγων· ἡ δε αγγελουειδης θεωρια ηρκει, και μονη ελεπομενη, προς συμπαθειαν και οικτιρμους, και τους αταν αμειλικτους κινησαι.*—S. Gregorii Nysseni Encomium S. Ephræm Syri. Op. p. 1027. ed. Paris, 1615.

Note 4. p. 317.] "This work [the *Opus Majus*] long remained buried in obscurity; and never appeared in print till, in 1733, Dr. Jebb, from various collated MSS., sent from the press of William Bowyer, a correct and beautiful edition in folio." Biograph. Brit. Compare Note 1. *supra*. The oblivion into which the discoveries of R. Bacon had inevitably fallen, owing to his great work being thus left to moulder in MS. on the shelves of a college library, assuredly did not lessen the obligation incumbent on Lord Bacon, to make known the fact, and the extent, of his debt to his predecessor. On the merits of the *Opus Majus*, and the debt of Lord Bacon, see Suppl. Enc. Brit. vol. iii. p. 8.

Note 5. p. 317.] Might not a complete analysis of the coincidences between the two Bacons, afford valuable aid to future historians of the progress of philosophy?

Note 6. p. 339.] In noticing the Arabian accounts of the royal library of Cordova, Mr. Gibbon's incredulity takes alarm at the computation of "six hundred thousand volumes, *forty-four* of which were employed in the mere catalogue." (Decl. and Fall. vol. x. p. 44.) Had he, however, known, or adverted to the fact, that each volume of the catalogue contained but *fifty* pages, he might have had it in his power to explain and correct the erroneous numbers; which would plainly seem chargeable, rather on the copyists, than on the original MSS. For, *forty-four* volumes, of *fifty* pages each, give no more than two-and-twenty hun-

dred pages of catalogue. But, in what language or character, could a catalogue of twenty-two hundred pages comprise the titles of six hundred thousand volumes? Sixty thousand is a credible, and, therefore, the probable reading. About fifteen numbers to a page, in the Arabic character, might be a fair allowance; and this, with the further allowance for works consisting of more than one volume, will pretty accurately accord with the conjectural emendation, substituting 60,000, for 600,000; i. e. for *ستون ألف* read *ستمائة ألف*; and the account becomes credible, and the catalogue and enumeration reconciled.

Note 7. p. 344.] In his munificent patronage of letters, nothing would seem to have been further from the thoughts of Leo X. than to awaken the spirit of inquiry and freedom. The son of Lorenzo de Medici could hardly fail to imbibe by inheritance, as well as by his early training, a taste for literature, and for the encouragement of learned men. But the views of Pope Leo were probably limited to augmenting the refinement and reputation of his luxurious court. The first dawn of the Reformation effectually opened his eyes, although when too late, to the folly of having admitted the lights of knowledge within the chambers of the Vatican.

CONCLUSION. Vol. II.

Note 1. p. 365.] But too ample evidence of the inference adopted in the text, is furnished by the history of American discovery, conquest, and colonization. By the Spaniards and Portuguese, indeed, Christianity was, from first to last, presented to the *Aborigines* in a shape, and enforced by *arguments*, which leave little room for any general induction. For their early modes of propagating the Gospel, the reader may consult the following note 2. But what have Protestant states effected hitherto, towards the national conversion of the North American Indians? And is not the likelihood every day increasing, that the extirpation of heathenism throughout North America will be completed, only with the gradual decay and extinction of the remaining native tribes? It may be added, in confirmation of the conclusion suggested by the foregoing considerations, that, wherever Christian missionaries have produced any considerable effect among tribes wholly uncivilized, as in the case of the Jesuit settlements in Paraguay, and in that of the Moravian missions at the Cape of Good Hope, *civil improvement* has been made to go hand in hand with religious instruction. It is this union which has rendered members of the Society of United Brethren, the first missionaries of modern Christendom; and its missions, models for the study and imitation of the whole Reformed Communion. The lesson, we may humbly hope, will not be lost upon the venerable Society, which presides over the missions of the United Church of England and Ireland, in foreign parts. For, let the seeds of civiliza-

tion be sown, *together with* those of the Gospel, and the faithful labourers in their heavenly Master's vineyard will gather rich fruits, from the most unpromising soil.

The subject of this note has been already treated, by a late eminent Prelate, with great wisdom and good sense. Upon several questions, the author is obliged wholly to dissent from his Lordship (of whom it is honourably recorded, by his friend Archdeacon Paley, that he never quarrelled with any person for differing from him); but, on this subject, he is fortunate in being able to express his own sentiments, in the inimitable words of the Bishop of Carlisle: —

“ Christianity could not have been propagated otherwise than, in fact, it was and is; namely, in a *gradual, progressive, partial* manner. Let it be *proclaimed*, at first, ever so far and wide, yet the *reception and continuance* of it must depend upon the dispositions of mankind, both natural and moral. Some previous, as well as concomitant qualifications, are requisite to the *due* exercise, and influence of it, as well in private men, as public states and communities: so that, *among a people sunk in barbarity and ignorance, in places where there is no kind of good order or government established; no regular forms of education instituted; where there is an universal want of discipline, and a dissoluteness of manners; there Christianity cannot subsist.* — Ignorant, uncivilized, slavish, and brutish nations, are *equally incapable of receiving such an institution, as they are of all those other sciences, arts, or improvements, which polish and adorn the rest of mankind, and make life a blessing.*

“ By being incapable of receiving it, I mean incapable of receiving it *with effect*; of *retaining or applying* it to any valuable purpose; for which, men do not seem properly qualified, notwithstanding any natural capacity, without aid from the liberal arts, and other accomplishments, in some degree. Most of the *Indians* are, I doubt not, capable of understanding the main principles of our faith, at the first proposal; [*This may well be questioned.* Author.] but scarcely qualified, I think, to make a *right* use, and receive the *salutary effects* thereof; to let it sink into the heart, and form the temper; for *want of some farther pains being taken* to implant worthy principles of *civil government, and social life*, amongst them: without which, all endeavours to introduce the purest and most perfect system of religion seem preposterous.” *Theory of Relig.* pp. 29—31.

The obstruction, Bp. Law has further shown, extends to the case of *demoralized nations*: “ And, as *barbarous and savage* nations are unable to hear the truth; so *vicious and immoral* ones are, in like manner, incapable of bringing forth the fruits thereof.” *Ib.* p. 34. Of both cases, *Islamism* appears, in a certain sense, a providential corrective.

Note 2. p. 367.] In the West India Islands, and on the continent of South America, still more than in Ducal Prussia, the See of Rome owes

the establishment of its spiritual dominion wholly to the persuasive arguments of fire and sword. The conversion of the islands was effected by the extirpation of the Caribbees. That of the Spanish main, so far as it has been yet nominally accomplished, was necessarily less merciless; and, therefore, more nearly Mussulmanic: those who survived the wholesale butcheries of Cortez and Pizarro, were, it would seem, allowed to chuse between Popery and the sword. The Jesuits pursued a very different course in Paraguay; but Jesuitism was indebted for its every better feature, to the influence of the Reformation, with which it was contemporary, and which it was its chief design to counteract. So M. Villers: "Cette Société célèbre, dont l'influence n'a été due, qu'à la réaction du Catholicisme [Romain] contre la réforme." p. 109.

The introduction of Christianity into Russia, seems to have been the result of causes analogous to those, which produced the general conversion of the barbarian conquerors of the Western Empire: viz. the neighbourhood of the civilized Greek Empire; the long-continued intercourse of the Russians with it, in peace and war; and the marriage of the ancestor of the Czars with a daughter of the Cæsars, — an alliance, which was immediately followed, by the real or political conversion of the prince: whose example and despotic influence produced their natural effect; the gradual submission of the body of the nation, to the religion and rites of the Greek church. See *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. pp. 238—242.

Note 3. p. 367.] In the total absence of positive evidence, however, it would be most unjust to infer, from *negative* evidence, that Christianity became *wholly* extinct in any parts, where it had been preached by Saint Paul, and his fellow-labourers among the Gentiles. Who can presume to affirm, that the conversion of the *North* may not have been primarily the fruit of the seed sown, on the borders of the *Scythian* wilderness, by the ministry of the GREAT APOSTLE?

As an index to the practical difficulties opposed, by the state of barbarism, to the progress and permanency of the Gospel, the *Hist. Tartarorum Eccles.* of Mosheim may be used to beneficial purpose.

Note 4. p. 368.] In Tombuctoo, the great object of African expeditions of discovery, the king, the court, and the entire population, are stated to be Mussulmans. See Park's Travels, ch. ii. The salutary moral influence of Islamism, upon its negro proselytes, is one of the most interesting facts recorded by this great traveller. Inebriety is, too notoriously, the besetting vice of the negroes: the following is the contrast drawn by Mr. Park, between the Pagan and the Mahometan population of inner Africa. "The beverage of the pagan negroes is *beer* and *mead*, of which they often drink to excess: the Mahometan converts drink *nothing but water*." Id. ib. It would wrong the judgment of the reader to put the question, which of the two classes is better *prepared* to receive the blessed truths of the Gospel?

Note 5. p. 370.] “*Faxit Deus ter Opt. Max. ut quam linguam tot gentibus extra Christianum orbem, et quasi omnibus literatis, communem esse voluit, ea utrinque interpretes, et spiritualis commercii instrumentum, fiat; quâ eâdem gentes orbi Christiano impertiant quicquid bonæ mentis et virtutis habent; hic vero illis salutiferam evangelii lucem ac vim refundat, ut tandem SOLUS dominetur, et UNIVERSIS imperet, qui lux mundi et Dominus omnium est, JESUS CHRISTUS.*” Golius, Præfat. Lex. Arab.

Note 6. p. 371.] The idea of a grand providential plan, already laid and in action, seems suggested by the positions occupied by the three religious systems, comparatively analyzed in these pages. *Christianity* occupies half the civilized world; the remaining half is occupied by *Mahometanism*; and *Judaism*, dispersed over both hemispheres, preserves an irregular, yet universal communication, with the Christian and Mahometan worlds; and thus connects the opposed empires and religions, of which it was itself the origin. *How*, precisely, the *abrogated*, and the *spurious* revelation, may be made subsidiary to the *universal* diffusion and dominion of the GOSPEL OF TRUTH, is, as it ought to be, unfathomable by “man’s judgment.”

Note 7. p. 371.] In confirmation of the title of Mahometanism to rank among the *heresies* of Christianity, I have elsewhere quoted the authority both of Church-of-England, and of continental, divines. It may be allowable, in these concluding illustrations, to add the testimony of a highly-gifted layman, to the same effect: “The *Musulmans* are, *already*, a sort of *heterodox Christians*. They are Christians, if Locke reasons justly; because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, *divine* character, and miracles, of the Messiah.” Sir William Jones. See *Asiat. Research.* vol. i. pp. 274, 275.

By the most accomplished observer, after Sir William Jones, who ever visited India from this country, the lamented Bishop Heber, strong incidental witness is borne, — to the great superiority of Mahometanism over every form of paganism; to its intrinsic character and merits; and to the opening prospect, that Mahometan India may become a fruitful field for the labours of the Christian ministry. See *Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 384—386. Letter to the Rt. Hon. R. Wilmot Horton. In another letter, the Bishop describes Islamism as “a religion closely copied from that of Moses.” *Ib.* ii. 375. On the practical effects of the Koran, compare vol. i. p. 177. of his Lordship’s *Journal*.

Note 8. p. 371.] The acceptance which the Koran has found, and continues to find, in the Negro country, is, so far, demonstrative of its peculiar adaptation to the human animal, in a brutified state of society. The progress of Islamism, in inner Africa, was sufficiently marked, to attract the notice of our most celebrated African traveller: “In the Negro country,” observes Mr. Park, “the Mahometan religion has made, and still continues to make, considerable progress.” Ch. ii.

[Note 9. p. 372.] See note 6. *supra*.

[Note 10. p. 372.] The language of Scripture, however, in its predictions of those great events, which are more immediately to precede the second Advent of Christ, seems studiously to indicate, in their production, a union of *natural* with *supernatural* means. A fine example of this double agency occurs 2 Thess. ii. 8. ; where the ordinary, and the extraordinary, instrumentality fore-shown, is established by the laws of Hebrew parallelism. See "Sacred Literature," pp. 151, 152. "It may be not improbable," observes Bishop Jebb on this context, "that the apostasy here predicted by S. Paul, is *first* to be *gradually counteracted*, by the diffusion of Christian truth, conveyed in the text, under the image of 'the breath of God's mouth;' and *then* to be *ultimately* put down, and *annihilated*, by the last triumphant advent of the irresistible Messiah, here designated, as 'the bright appearance of his coming.'"

Is the probability a low one, that the final extinction of Judaism, and the final destruction of Mahometanism, may be, in like manner, the work of a two-fold process; partly acting by the ordinary course of Providence, and partly by an extraordinary manifestation of the Divine presence and power?

[Note 11. p. 373.] See note 8. p. 515. The authority there produced, respecting the actual state of Mahometanism in Hindostan, has the following observations:—"The Mussulmans in India are, very generally, poor, and destitute of employment. Amongst the classes higher in rank, though circumscribed in income, many are men of talent, learning, and virtuous feelings; who regard their present condition as a judgment of God, and mourn over the debased state of their countrymen. A great number, however, give themselves up to indolence and sensual indulgence. With the exception of some of the western provinces of India, bordering on Caubul, the lower classes of Mahometans are nearly all in the same state of inactivity and debasement." Extract from a MS. communication to the author. The gentleman here quoted, had made the Mahometans in our Indian possessions peculiarly his study; and drawn much of his information, from his preceptor in the Oriental idioms; a Mussulman of high rank and attainments.

[Note 12. p. 373.] I have often adverted to the anomalous doctrine of Mahomet, by which, the Arabian antichrist *relinquishes* to our Lord the final and supreme administration of religion. M. D'Ohsson acquaints us, that this important article of belief is interwoven with the whole religious creed and traditions of Mussulmans: "*Ces idées, qui remontent jusqu'à Mohammed, par une tradition constante, montrent ce que l'on a toujours pensé dans l'Islamisme, sur la personne de Jesus Christ, et sur son second avènement. Révéré, par tous les docteurs, comme le plus grand des Prophètes avant le Législateur Arabe, comme le Messie des nations, comme*

l'Esprit de Dieu, *Rouhh Ullah*, le Sauveur du monde est encore regardé, comme le seul des Saints prédestiné à venir dans la plénitude des Siècles, rappeler les hommes à la pénitence, et les rassembler tous dans l'unité d'un même culte ; mais afin de présenter un système conséquent en faveur de Mohammed, dont on suit et respecte la doctrine comme l'accomplissement et la perfection des Saintes Ecritures, les *Imams* ont subordonné cet Homme Dieu à son autorité sacerdotale, en le déclarant son vicaire, et le dernier des Khaliphes universels, qui viendra, à la fin des temps, exercer, en son nom, les droits du sacerdoce, et de la puissance suprême, sur tous les peuples de la terre." Tabl. de l'Emp. Othom. vol. i. pp. 426, 427. M. D'Ohsson (pp. 427—429.) relates an historical incident, highly illustrative of the prevalence of the belief in question. The very efforts of the Mussulman doctors to qualify the final supremacy acknowledged, by their prophet, to exist in Christ Jesus, only augments the proof of the intrinsic magnitude of those concessions.

According to the most recent sources of information, the effects of this tenet of Islamism are forcibly operative among the Turks. A British officer, who had resided much in different parts of the East, mentioned to the author the interesting fact, that he found an expectation prevalent among the Turks, "that Mahometanism must be finally swallowed up by Christianity." To the inquiry, whether such appeared to be the popular belief of the Turks, Major ——— replied, that it might be going further than his experience authorized, to affirm this ; that few Turks reasoned or reflected ; but that five or six individuals had, independently, expressed the same opinion to him ; and went, in consequence, so far as to say, that they would themselves become Christians from this expectation, were it not through fear of the consequences of forsaking Mahometanism ; which are appalling. A Turk, when discovered to have embraced Christianity, it appears, has his house set on fire ; and is consumed, together with his entire family, in the flames.

Note 13. p. 373.] "The conversion of the Mahomedan world, when it begins, will spread with astonishing rapidity : — but a short stand will be made for the Koran." Sketches of India. See Eclect. Rev. vol. xvi. p. 522.

Note 14. p. 373.] The duty of propagating their religion, is a first principle in the training of Mussulmans : the civil governor, the soldier, the merchant, the ship-master, are alike engaged, by the tenets of their creed, to labour for its dissemination. The same zeal, transferred to Christianity, and softened by its spirit, may effect the work of conversion with a success now scarcely conceivable.

Note 15. p. 373.] Looking to the future propagation of the Gospel in Africa, the writer cited in a preceding note (13.) observes : "Made-gasse Christians may go forth as schoolmasters and teachers ; and, as Ma-

hommedans have done, make almost as many converts as they can find scholars. And may not Mahomedans, also, the Screens scattered through the tribes of the Fetiche worshippers, become, under a higher character, when they shall have themselves been brought to an acquaintance with the Bible, the civilizers of pagan Africa?" Eclect. Rev. vol. xviii. p. 135.

Note O. p. 379. l. 25.] In tracing the last line of these imperfect pages, may the author be permitted to close with a date; — with the mention, that he writes on the day appointed to commemorate the conversion of Saint Paul; and with fervent supplication to the Great Head of the Church, that whatever is erroneous in this work, may but reflect upon the weakness of the instrument, and be forgiven; while, whatever it contains of truth, may, in wiser and better hands, contribute to the edification of the glorious Temple, whose foundation was laid by that wise Master-builder; — by him, who strove victoriously for an incorruptible crown; to whom, by no uncongenial accommodation, will apply the words of Pindar: —

Εὔρεν Θεοσ̃

᾿Ωνόμασεν κεφαλᾶν πολλῶν νόμον
 Εὐκλεᾶ, λαοσσών μναστῆρ̃ ἀγώνων.

Pyth. Carm. xii.

Him God found:

Him named of many souls the glorious leader,

Prime harmonist of people-saving conflicts.

January 25. 1829.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 257. line 29. for *experieneed* read experienced.

296.	26.	<i>characteros</i>	characters.
327.	26.	<i>Israelities</i>	Israelites.
354.	ult.	<i>Orient</i>	* Hist. Orient.

VOL. II.

83. line ult. for *iterature* read Literature.

251.	13.	<i>Erija</i>	Ecija.
268.	27.	<i>Gelalæa</i>	Gelalæan.

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